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TRAVELS

THROUGH PART OF

THE UNITED STATES

AND

CANADA

IN

1818 AND 1819.

By JOHN M. DUNCAN, A. B.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTER XII.

LETTER XII.

SCHENECTADY—UNION COLLEGE—SABBATH—STAGE WAGGON—MOHAWK—NAVIGATION OF THE RAPIDS—SLAVES—TRAVELLING DISASTERS—EAST CANADA CREEK—LITTLE FALLS—DEEP ROADS—FERRY—HERKIMER—UTICA—ONEYDA INDIANS—ONONDAGO HOLLOW—SKENEATELES—AUBURN—BRIDGE ON CAYUGA LAKE—WATERLOO—LOG CAUSEWAY—SENECA LAKE—NIGHT TRAVELLING—CANANDAIGUA—GENESSEE RIVER—ONE HORSE WAGGON—ENGLISH EMIGRANT—CALEDONIA—BATAVIA—SERMONS—BUFFALO—SECOND JOURNEY OVER THE SAME GROUND—SABBATH AT CANANDAIGUA—BURNING OF BUFFALO.

Buffalo, October, 1818.

This is my second visit to Buffalo; my first was in the month of May. During my former journey the roads were in a wretched condition, in consequence of a continuance of rainy weather having succeeded the breaking up of the ice. I then experienced a reasonable share of traveller's miseries, and as it has been almost the only occasion on which I have met with material discomfort, in the course of my wanderings in this country, I shall venture on a more minute detail of my adventures.

The first stage in my progress was from Albany to Schenectady, sixteen miles, where I remained from Saturday afternoon till Monday morning.

Schenectady was settled by the Dutch about an hundred and twenty years ago; its appearance is consequently somewhat ancient. It contains between five and six thousand inhabitants, but its principal claim to our notice arises from the proximity of Union College. This institution occupied till lately a very inferior rank among the colleges of the United States, but the distinguished talents and judicious administration of President Nott have caused it to emerge from its obscurity, and it now takes precedence in the public opinion of many others of much older standing. The principal obstacle to its farther advancement seems to be the limited number of its Professorships. The effect of this may be gathered from the fact that at present the same individual is Professor of Chemistry and of Belles Lettres, a combination of functions certainly sufficiently heterogeneous. It is said that Union College has received benefactions at different times to the amount of nearly 400,000 dollars, £90,000 sterling; but in place of the endowment of Professorships, the greater part of this large sum has been expended on the college buildings and ground.

The Sabbath which I spent here, left I am sorry to say rather an unfavourable impression on my mind, as to the state of religion. In the morning, although the streets were otherwise quiet, a good many waggons passed through laden with timber and flour. In the forenoon I attended worship at the Dutch church, and in the afternoon at

the Presbyterian one. In the former the preacher gave us a discourse from the words, 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean,' which was respectable in composition, and scriptural in doctrine. The congregation in the lower part of the church was tolerably numerous, but in the gallery, where I sat, the auditors were very few in number, and the conduct of some individuals very indecorous. The poor blacks at the remote end were much more sedate and attentive than most of the whites. The sermon which I heard in the Presbyterian church was by no means equal to the other. A considerable number of the students of Union College sat in the gallery, but they and others showed too much of the same levity which I remarked in the gallery of the Dutch church. There is an Episcopal and a Methodist church here, besides the two already mentioned. There are also some Sabbath schools, but I could not learn their number nor any thing respecting their management.

On leaving Schenectady, the first day's ride warned me of what might be expected on the succeeding ones. The weather was broken, the roads rough and deep, the stage waggon crowded with passengers and luggage, and the party but very moderately agreeable.

The stage waggon which is still used in this part of the country, corresponds exactly with the picture and description which Weld has given. The

body is rather long in proportion to its breadth, and contains four seats, each holding three passengers who all sit with their faces towards the horses. From the height of the seats it is open all round, and the roof is supported by slender shafts rising up at the corners and sides; in wet weather a leathern apron is let down at the sides and back, to protect the inmates. The waggon has no door, but the passengers get in by the front, stepping over the seats as they go backward; the driver sits on the front seat with a passenger on either hand. The heavier kinds of boxes and trunks are fastened behind, upon the frame of the carriage, but the smaller articles and the mail bag are huddled under the seats in the inside, to the great annoyance of the passengers, who are frequently forced to sit with their knees up to their mouths, or with their feet insinuated between two trunks, where they are most lovingly compressed whenever the vehicle makes a lurch into a rut. The body of the waggon is suspended upon two stout leathern straps, passing lengthways under it, and secured upon strongly propped horizontal bars before and behind.

Leaving Schenectady we crossed the Mohawk by a roofed wooden bridge, a thousand feet in length, and the road skirted for a considerable distance the northern bank of the river, affording us a view of some of the rapids and the mode of navigating them. The boats which are used here

are very long and shallow, and nearly flat in the bottom. They are navigated by five men; one at the stern manages a long steering oar, broad in the blade and bending down with a sweep into the water, but projecting so far over the boat as to be easily raised out, and thus combining the advantages of a rudder and an oar; the other four row or pole the boat as necessity requires. The poles appear to be about ten feet long, the point is shod with iron, and at the top is a round flattened head. Along each side of the boat from the bow to the stern is a narrow footway, crossed at short intervals with small pieces of wood like the feet of a ladder. In ascending a rapid, the men go to the bow of the boat, two on each side, and with their faces towards the stern thrust their poles into the channel; then bending forward, they oppose the upper part of the shoulder to the head of the pole, and catching by the cross pieces of wood, work their way on hands and feet towards the stern. This laborious process is patiently reiterated, till at length the strength and rapidity of the current are overcome, and the boat brought once more into smooth water.

While passing through a wood, in the forenoon, we met a large party of blacks of both sexes, in gay holiday dresses; one of the men carried a large tambourine, and from the aspect of the party it was obvious that they had assembled for a merry-making. A person in the stage informed us that

they were slaves, and that this was one of three holidays which they were allowed in the year. This was to me a new spectacle, and one that suggested painful reflections. Even the holiday of a slave is a melancholy sight, and in 'the land of liberty' particularly revolting. "Slaves cannot breathe in England,"—would that they could not breathe in America either!

The roads through which we drove, (it was literally *through*,) had so shaken our waggon, that after nine hours' jolting one of the straps gave way, and we were brought to astand by the carriage sinking down upon the pole. Americans are not easily disconcerted. There was a rail fence by the road side, from which the driver selected a stout rafter, long enough to reach from the footboard in front to the after axle, the body of the waggon was hove up by our united energies, and the wooden substitute for a spring was thrust under it. We then resumed our seats and jolted on, quite unconscious of any additional inconvenience from riding on a rail. At the next inn we obtained another waggon.

At nine o'clock in the evening we reached East Canada Creek, about forty-six miles from Schenectady, and got supper and lodging at a country tavern.

At four next morning we were roused to renew our journey. The rain was falling copiously, and the roads were improving in *depth*, every yard that we advanced. Between eight and nine we stop-

ped for breakfast at the village of Little Falls, so called from a cascade in the Mohawk.

On getting into motion after breakfast I could not help looking out with some degree of despondency, on the prospect before us. The village through which we passed was unpaved, and deep mud extended from house to house, except where a log of timber here and there afforded a narrow footing to the pedestrian. The merciless rain dropped upon us through numerous chinks in the roof of our vehicle, and was blown in at the front and sides, in spite of the leathern apron with which we were surrounded. The horses were wading up to the knees, and occasionally past them; while at short intervals the carriage made sudden plunges to right or left, knocking the passengers against each other, and bruising our limbs on the boxes. It was something the very reverse of comforting to reflect, that there were upwards of two hundred miles between us and Buffalo, and that the roads, if the rain continued would become progressively worse as we advanced; while it was but here and there that we could expect a comfortable inn, and never a comfortable carriage.

My forebodings of disaster seemed to hasten to an accomplishment, when, after advancing a few miles, we reached the bank of a river in which the bare stone piers of a bridge rose above the flood, without any superincumbent arches or platform. But this contingency seemed no way to discompose

our phlegmatic driver, who very coolly brought us to the brink, emptied us and our luggage into two or three small boats, and leaving us to find our way across turned his horses' heads towards the village from which we had started.

The rain here agreed to a temporary but very opportune cessation of hostilities, and the contents of the stage, animate and inanimate, were soon safely landed on the opposite bank. Here we learned that the wooden floor of the bridge had accompanied the ice down the river in the early part of the spring; no stage was in waiting to receive the passengers, and we found it necessary to send notice of our arrival to the next town, two miles distant. While two of my fellow travellers set forward on this service, the others rambled about to explore the neighbourhood, and I was left beside the luggage upon the bank, sole guardian of the United States' Mail, which seemed to excite as little interest as if it had been a bag of old clothes.

Having got again into motion we passed through the flourishing little town of Herkimer, situate in the midst of what is called the German Flats. This is esteemed a very fertile district of the country, but for the present every thing presented to us a dreary prospect.

The road now became hilly and continued so for some miles. After we had slowly ascended the successive acclivities, we reached a more level country,

and found a harder surface than we had hitherto known. Our driver seemed inclined that we should enjoy the variety, and urged his horses to a very hard trot, which occasionally broke into a canter; our stage rattled furiously along, clearing the stump of a tree or a large stone, with a bound and a shock which jarred every bone in my body. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon we reached Utica, thirty eight miles from our place of starting. . . Had time and opportunity admitted of it I should willingly have spent a few hours at Utica, in acquiring information about the progress of the western canal, which is to pass close by the town; but the evening was occupied with matters which more immediately concerned my present comfort. Unacquainted with American travelling, I had unfortunately brought with me a trunk which was too large to be admitted into the interior of the waggon, and had therefore been exposed without covering to the long continued rain, and the unmerciful shaking which was inseparable from resting upon the frame of the carriage, without the intervention of springs; its dimensions procured me the additional pleasure, of paying nearly as much for its transportation as for my own. On overhauling its contents I found my clothes and books, from the united effects of soaking and friction, in a sad condition; the aspect of affairs had been no way brightened by a furious contest which had taken place, in the wooden tray at the top, between some specimens of

rocks from the Cohoes fall, and an unlucky box of charcoal, which disinclination to toothache had induced me to carry along with me. A pleasant afternoon's work I had of it, as you may readily believe.

At four o'clock next morning, in darkness and rain, we resumed our seats and drove forward, leaving the course of the Mohawk by which we had hitherto travelled, and inclining more to the westward. The roads were now worse than ever. The horses could only advance at a slow walk, and the driver had to take his chance of the road, for in the ocean of mud before us, selection of one part rather than another was out of the question. Now and then the poor cattle were floundering almost up to the neck, and on one occasion the leaders plunged so deep that one got a mouthful of mud which nearly choked him.

After breakfast we passed through a village of the Oneyda Indians, and saw a few of the wretched descendants of that once powerful tribe. Both men and women presented a disheartening spectacle of squalidness and poverty, but fallen and degraded as they are the behaviour of the women was perfectly decorous; they shunned us as much as possible, and whenever we did meet unvariably drew their blankets completely round them, bringing them up on the face so as to leave only the upper part of it visible. They live in small log huts apparently without windows, and scattered at a consider-

able distance from each other. Part of the ground round their cottages was surrounded by rail fences, but I did not observe any other marks of cultivation.

Our course now lay through the Oneyda wood where the road ascended a pretty steep hill, and besides being as deep as that through which we had come, was encumbered with stumps of trees. The rain still fell, but as it was comparatively moderate and as there was a kind of foot path through the wood, we agreed to relieve the poor horses by walking. The footing was soft and slippery; occasionally we had to leap from one prostrate trunk to another, and again to make a circuit of considerable extent to avoid a quagmire. Had it been possible for an Oneyda warrior of former days to have looked down on our uncouth array, how scornfully would he have smiled at the white men, muffled in great coats, and skulking under umbrellas, feebly dragging their steps round every little pool of water, and turning out of the way to avoid a fallen tree, where he had been accustomed to chase the panther or the deer, with a foot as light as the animal's before him, dashing through opposing torrents, and bounding like an antelope over every obstruction!

Having overcome at length the difficulties of the wood, and begun to descend the opposite side of the hill, we resumed our seats. Scarcely had we begun to move forward when we descried the stage from the westward coming slowly up, with the passengers

straggling here and there around it. We learned on meeting that they had just recovered their feet after an upset, and the mud on their clothes sufficiently corroborated the statement; happily no one was hurt, the stage having opportunely turned over against a steep bank by the side of the road. They told us that our turn was coming, but we thought that the roads before us could hardly be worse than those behind, and that with patience and caution we might manage to get through.

About seven in the evening we reached Chittinengo, where we got tea. Off we again started, and while struggling up a very steep hill, our carriage descended into a gap with so violent a shock, that the bolt or pivot on which the front axle turned snapped in two, and the horses had nearly dragged the front wheels from under the body of the waggon. Our driver however was happily provided with a spare bolt, the passengers got out, a stout rail from the nearest fence was thrust under the carriage, and up to the ancles in mud, part on each side, we managed by dint of strength to sustain the waggon till the axle was replaced in its proper position, and the new bolt inserted. At nine o'clock we reached Manlius, but were compelled to jolt on for three hours longer; exactly at midnight we reached Onondago Hollow, and had the comfort to find that our twenty hours' work amounted to no more than fifty miles.

Before our weary frames were half refreshed the

periodical time of starting had come round, and at four o'clock in the morning we resumed our uncomfortable seats. No improvement had taken place in the roads, but the rain had ceased, and of course travelling was somewhat less disagreeable. At ten o'clock we reached Skeneateles, at the upper end of a lake of the same name, a distance of sixteen miles. About two o'clock we passed through the village of Auburn, which has every external appearance of prosperity, but in present circumstances it by no means appeared to us the 'loveliest village of the plain.'[1] About five in the afternoon we reached the Cayuga lake, which is here very nearly a mile in width, and is crossed by a wooden bridge supported upon piles. The wheels of our chariot rolled along the level platform, with a smoothness to which we had long been strangers; and so luxuriant seemed the contrast, that on getting to the farther end, some of the passengers proposed that we should turn the horses and enjoy it a second time!

Ascending the hill from the lake, the bolt in the front axle again gave way; but we had learned the remedy for such mishaps, and soon applied ourselves to the work with energy and success. A few miles farther we passed through the flourishing settlement of Waterloo, built upon the

[1] A new penitentiary has been built here, for the State of New York; and a theological academy has been established, in connexion with the Presbyterian church.

bank of a creek which flows between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes. The situation is most romantic, but the stranger's astonishment is chiefly excited, by the rapidity with which this and many other settlements on this road have started into maturity. The first building was erected only three years ago, and already it possesses a Court House, hotel, and stores in abundance.

A new variety of American roads now commended itself to our attention. A wearisome swamp intervenes between Waterloo and the Seneca Lake, and a yet more wearisome log causeway, affords the means of crossing it. This substitute for a road is composed entirely of the trunks of trees, laid down layer above layer, till a solid but rugged platform is elevated above the level of the marsh. The logs are piled upon each other without any kind of squaring or adjustment, and the jolting of the wheels from one to another is perfectly horrible. Bad however in the superlative degree as such riding is, it was connected in the present instance with additional circumstances of annoyance, not usually attendant. By the heavy and long continued rains the swamp had been converted into a lake, which gradually rising in height had at last completely covered the wooden road. Night had sunk down upon us, and though there was a glimmering of moonlight, it had to struggle through a dense atmosphere of clouds; our charioteer, however, feeling secure in his knowledge of the *chaus-*

nel, drove dauntlessly forward, the horses dashed into the water, and very soon our bones bore testimony to the correctness of his pilotage. Well was it for us that the driver's skill was not inferior to his daring, for had he gone to either side of the proper line, horses and waggon, with all that it contained, would probably have found in the marsh their last earthly resting place. Two or three times it seemed as if such a consummation was approaching:—several logs had floated out of their places and left yawning gaps in the causeway, across which our horses might be said to swim rather than walk, and the wheels followed them with a plunge, so sudden and so deep, that it felt as if the bottom of the road had literally fallen out, and our whole establishment were going after it.

About ten o'clock we reached the Seneca lake, and were in hopes that Geneva, the village on its bank, was to terminate our day's toils. In this however we were disappointed. The innkeeper averred that it was absolutely necessary that the mail should go forward to Canandaigua, sixteen miles farther; he assured us that the road was much better than those we had travelled, promised us a comfortable carriage, good horses, and an excellent driver, and said that we should certainly accomplish it in less than four hours.

Persuaded against our own judgment to rely on these promises, we consented to go forward; and a young man with a bugle horn was put into the

carriage beside us, to cheer us forward with its courage-stirring notes. I did not at first suspect the object of this accompaniment, but it soon became obvious that it was intended to prevent our falling asleep. I already mentioned that the stage waggon was open all round, and you would of course attribute the necessity of this to the heat of the climate. It was subservient, however, to another important purpose as well as that of keeping us cool. When the wheels on one side descended into a rut, the passengers immediately threw themselves by a simultaneous motion towards the opposite, and those who were close by the side thrust their heads and shoulders through the opening; this sudden shifting of the centre of gravity counterpoised the waggon's tendency to upset, and we had become by practice so expert in the manœuvre, that often, when the vehicle seemed to tremble on the very turn, the weight of our heads turned the scale in our favour. The prudent landlord at Geneva however knew well, that if we fell asleep, as our long continued fatigues would strongly dispose us to do, our heavy heads in place of being thrust out of the carriage would necessarily make a great addition to the leeward weight within, and to a certainty capsize the machine. He therefore very thoughtfully provided us with a trumpeter, who by singing songs, relating his marvellous adventures, and ever and anon wakening the warlike energies of his instrument, managed

to keep us sufficiently awake to continue our exertions on behalf of the balance of power.[2]

The roads were execrably bad—quite as much so as any which we had yet seen. While the moonlight continued however we managed to get slowly forward, at one time throwing ourselves incessantly from right to left like a ship in a gale of wind, at another heaving to, till the driver dismounted and went forward twenty or thirty yards to take soundings. Oftener than once we were all obliged to get out, scramble over fences and make a circuit, ankle deep, through the adjoining fields, to meet the waggon at the farther end of some deep slough. On one of these occasions, in getting over a worm fence[3] my foot slipped, the upper rail turned over, and

> "The skin in blipes cam harlin
> Aff's nieves that nicht."

At last the moon set, and we were forced to halt outright. We drew up at a tavern by the road

[2] This youth had been a bugler in the British service, and deserted from the 70th regiment, which was at that time in Fort George. He swam across the Niagara at eleven o'clock at night, dragging after him his bugle and some clothes tied upon a piece of board. The width of the river at the fort is not great, probably about a third of a mile, but the current is very powerful, and there are numerous eddies near the sides; the story which he told us, was afterwards confirmed to one of the party by an officer in the neighbourhood of the fort.

[3] The worm fence is by far the most common in America. It is composed of straight poles or rails, eight or ten feet long, laid hori-

side, roused the inmates, and stretched our wearied limbs by the fire. Some of the passengers comforted themselves with a glass of *egg-nog*,[4] but the sight of it was quite enough for me. Day light at last broke, and at half past five, after divers hair-breadth escapes, we arrived at Canandaigua. The stage from the westward which was to take us forward was expected in a short time; we therefore did not go to bed but washed our glazed and sleepy eyes, and waited impatiently for its arrival.

About ten o'clock we again set forward, but our adventures were so similar to those of former days that I need not fatigue you with a recital. We had another river to cross where the bridge had been carried away, but on this occasion the stage with all its inmates embarked in a flat bottomed *scow*, as it is called, large enough to contain it without unyoking the horses; we got safely across, but the scene reminded me of the picture of a cat set afloat in a wooden dish.

zontally in a zigzag direction, so that the ends cross and rest upon each other. It needs no nails to secure it, and although it occupies five or six times as much ground as a straight fence, ground is a cheap article here; it is usually piled to the height of seven or eight rails.

[4] A compound of milk, raw eggs, spirits and sugar, violently agitated by a stirrer which is twirled round between the hands. In the instance referred to, one of the passengers after turning off his tumbler, and smacking his mouth, insisted that it had been made with *raw* sugar; this the tavern-keeper stoutly denied, and as we afterwards discovered with truth, for he had no sugar of any kind in the house and had substituted molasses.

At seven o'clock in the evening we reached Avon, upon the bank of the Genessee river, only twenty four miles from Canandaigua. There we stopped to get tea, and I felt myself so much overcome with fatigue, want of sleep, and a violent headache, that I resolved to give up the contest and let the stage go forward without me.

I do not think that I ever felt so thoroughly knocked up, to use an expressive phrase, as on this occasion; and I was not without some degree of apprehension that serious indisposition might be the consequence of it. Happily, however, little else was necessary to restore me than a comfortable night's rest; I went to bed almost as soon as the stage had started, and having slept without interruption for nearly twelve hours, I felt on awakening wonderfully revived.

It was now Saturday, and as no stage was to pass till Monday afternoon, it was necessary that I should either find some private means of conveyance, or content myself for two days where I was. My landlord seemed somewhat inclined that I should make up my mind to the latter alternative, for on asking him to provide me with a small waggon,[5] I found that he would not accept of less than five dollars, twenty two and sixpence sterling,

[5] We have nothing exactly resembling the American Dearborn, or one horse waggon. It is a very low and light carriage upon four wheels, containing a movable seat upon wooden springs which holds two; there is room enough behind the seat for two or three trunks,

for conveying me fourteen miles; with this demand I was not inclined to comply, and after making a little enquiry I bargained with a man, who had emigrated from Wiltshire, to convey me sixteen miles for two dollars.

The rain had ceased during the night, and the sky was clear and pleasant; the first time it had been so for a week. The Englishman was intelligent and not unwilling to talk, the road rather better than most which we had seen, although we found it sometimes necessary to make a circuit through the fields, and the ride was altogether tolerably agreeable. Our conversation turned, not unnaturally, upon the comparative advantages of Britain and America; my driver agreed that if people were sober and industrious they might generally get along very well in either. His anticipations, he acknowledged, had been too sanguine when he came out, but although not gratified to their full extent, he said that upon the whole he had no reason to complain. He kept a tavern, that is a small country inn, or rather occupied one which was generally left to the management of his wife, while he wrought for the neighbouring farmers, or whoever needed him, with his horse and waggon. He said that none succeeded better in that neighbourhood than my countrymen, of whom there was

and it is altogether a very convenient vehicle. A plain one may be had for about £10 sterling; sometimes they are finished with considerable elegance, and provided with a covering like a gig.

a thriving settlement named Caledonia through which we should pass. He paid them the usual compliment of saying that they stuck together amazingly, and assisted each other out of difficulties; so that whatever hardships individuals might suffer at the outset, they were as a community generally prosperous in the end. About two hours' riding brought us to Caledonia, a very neat little village, where the Englishman stopped to feed his horse; he called out a store-keeper to shake hands with a young countryman just imported, and a multitude of questions were showered upon me about the *land of cakes*, with many good wishes for it and its children.

About three in the afternoon we reached Le Roy which completed our sixteen miles; I urged him to carry me forward the next stage also, but as it was Saturday he thought there might be more customers at his tavern in the evening, than his wife alone could attend to, and therefore wished to be at home. I could say nothing against the reasonableness of this argument, so shook hands with him and parted. The innkeeper at Le Roy supplied me with another waggon, to take me forward to Batavia, ten miles farther, which I reached in safety after several miles' jolting over a log causeway.

Batavia is a small straggling town containing about 200 inhabitants. It contains a Court House, which serves also for a church; and on Sabbath I

went to hear sermon. Who or what the minister was, I did not learn, but his abilities were of a very moderate kind; his forenoon service did not extend to an hour altogether, and that of the afternoon was very little more. In the evening there was what is called a conference; a common thing with various denominations in this country. The minister was not present, but several individuals spoke in familiar language on devotional subjects, some of whom pleased me much better than the preacher had done.

Sabbath was a warm and agreeable day, and I was in hopes that the weather was going to become settled. In the evening however the sky was overcast, a large nebulous circle surrounded the moon, and I recollected the Scotish proverb, *a far brugh, a near storm.*

Monday verified the saying; it was cloudy and cold in the forenoon, and very wet in the afternoon. After ineffectually attempting to hire a waggon, I found it necessary to await the arrival of the stage. To occupy a vacant hour I entered a flour mill, and was conducted by the miller through every part of it; on taking leave, he thanked me politely for having called.

Next morning at five we left Batavia; and at six in the evening, after a most disagreeable ride of forty miles, reached Buffalo. It rained almost incessantly; and for more than a third of the road, we had to jolt once more over a log causeway.

Such was my first journey to the shores of lake Erie. My second was as different as possible; and, by way of contrast, I shall hastily run over it.

I left Schenectady on the second occasion about six in the morning, and reached Utica, 80 miles distant, in the evening. The weather was good, sharp indeed in the morning but very warm in the forenoon, and we could now enjoy the beautiful scenery on the banks of the Mohawk. At Little Falls the river passes through a wild mountainous ravine, now rushing over shelving falls, now whirling and foaming round a projecting point, or detached masses of rock; on both sides the banks are rocky and precipitous, and a few dwarfish trees start from among the crevices;—if it were not for the waggon in which you travel, you could almost suppose yourself in the neighbourhood of the Troshachs.

From Utica we started the following morning between four and five o'clock, and about seven in the evening reached Skeneateles, a distance of 66 miles. The orchards by the side of the road were loaded with fruit, and large quantities lying about which had dropped from the trees. Next morning at half-past five we left Skeneateles, crossed the Cayuga lake by the long wooden bridge, and reached Canandaigua about three; it seemed a very paradise to that Canandaigua, which I had entered with the bugler in the waggon beside me, after the dreary night of wading and jolting.

I spent Sabbath at Canandaigua, and attended the Presbyterian church three times. The regular minister did not preach on this occasion, but his place was supplied by a stranger whom I heard with much pleasure. His forenoon discourse was from these words, "Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins." In the afternoon he selected a verse from the Epistle of Jude, "—unto the judgment of the great day;" and in the evening, Cornelius's concluding remark to the Apostle Peter, "Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God." In the morning discourse, he expounded most clearly the doctrine of salvation through the atonement of the Lord Jesus, vindicating his essential divinity, and proclaiming the dreadful and eternal condemnation of unbelievers. In the afternoon he enlarged upon the subjects of death and judgment; and particularly alluded to the distinction, which God in his sovereignty had made, between apostate angels and fallen man. In the evening he enforced the duty of sanctifying the Lord's day, and of meeting as frequently as possible during the week for social worship; he concluded by reminding us of the importance of doing all in our power, by influence and example, in the various relations of life, to extend the knowledge and practice of religion. I was much gratified by these discourses, and by the earnestness and zeal of the

preacher. There are other two churches in Canandaigua, one of which belongs to the Episcopalian body.

I became acquainted with only one family here; the younger branches of it are all engaged in conducting Sabbath schools. I visited one of them, and was pleased with the appearance of order which it exhibited; one of the scholars was an Irish emigrant, who read well, and had been but a short time before totally ignorant of the alphabet.

On Monday morning I left Canandaigua; passed through Avon, where I had given up the struggle on the former occasion, and got on to Batavia, from which on the following day we came forward to Buffalo:—thus accomplishing with great ease and comfort in six days, what I had with great difficulty and distress effected on the former occasion in ten.

Buffalo is a busy little town, containing about six hundred inhabitants, occupying a beautiful situation at the lower extremity of lake Erie. It was burnt to ashes by the British troops during last war, as a measure of retaliation for the previous destruction of York and Niagara. What a dreadful scourge is war! A passenger in the stage pointed out to me a log hut, a mile or two from the town, in which he told me he saw about a hundred men, women, and children, take shelter on the night of the conflagration. The inn at which I lodge has a sign-board, swinging between two lofty poles, bearing the American Eagle as its device, which is

completely riddled with balls; it was almost the only article which escaped the flames. This sign-board and the blackened ruins of a brick house, are almost the only marks which I have traced of the destruction of the town. Like Washington, it has risen from its ashes with probably more than its former vigour. It contains a bank, and a very considerable number of large and substantially built brick houses.

Buffalo stands close by the mouth of a small creek, which affords a harbour for the trading vessels. A small light-house has been recently built, to guide the benighted mariner to its sheltering haven; and a large steam boat has just begun to navigate the lake, which is appropriately named, after a celebrated Indian chief, *Walk-in-the-water*. The position of the town is very favourable for commerce. The great western canal will terminate within two miles of it, and it will then become the great thoroughfare between the lower country, and lake Erie, the State of Ohio, and the rest of the western territory. At present, however, the inhabitants are labouring under great difficulties, in consequence of the events of the war. It was expected that Government would have indemnified the citizens, at least to a considerable extent, for the destruction of their property; and in this hope capitalists lent many of them money, to rebuild their houses and recommence business. Congress, however, has recently, to their great disappointment, refused to afford them the smallest relief.

LETTER XIII.

Lake Ontario
Fort Niagara
Niagara
Fort George
Queenston
Lewiston
Heights
Tuscarora Indians
Whirlpool
GREAT FALLS
Chippawa
Grand Island
Upper Canada
State of New York
Ferry
Fort Erie
Black Rock
Buffalo
Lake Erie

LETTER XIII.

RIVER NIAGARA—BLACK ROCK—WESTERN BANK OF THE RIVER—GRAND ISLAND—CHIPPAWA—GOAT ISLAND—GREAT RAPID—FIRST VIEW OF THE FALLS—EDGE OF THE PRECIPICE—RECENT DISRUPTION OF THE BANK—TABLE ROCK—LADDER—BOTTOM OF THE PRECIPICE—RAINBOW—VIEW BY MOONLIGHT—DIFFERENT POINTS OF SIGHT—MEASUREMENT OF THE FALLS—THEORIES OF GEOLOGISTS—WHIRLPOOL—QUEENSTON.

Niagara, October, 1818.

THE Falls of Niagara[1] have been so frequently described, and the whole vocabulary of sublimity so completely exhausted in the service, that it seems doubtful whether it would not be better to pass them by in silence, and refer you for an account of them to the narratives of former travellers. I am more desirous to sketch a correct picture of the moral, than of the physical characteristics of America, and yet it would perhaps be improper that the latter should be altogether excluded. I have given you an account of many objects much less celebrated and

[1] Said to be an Iroquois word, signifying *the thunder of waters*. The Indians pronounce it Niagăra, but Americans and Canadians universally Niágăra; the latter accentuation is sanctioned by the author of 'Letters of the Fudge Family,' who proposes in one of them

> "—— 'stead of pistol or dagger, a
> Desperate leap down the falls of Niagara."

important than these tremendous cataracts, and having visited them twice, consistency perhaps requires that they should occupy a page or two in my narrative. I ask your indulgence therefore to what follows, and if I cannot be poetical I shall try at least to be correct.

The Niagara, though called a river, would be more accurately described as a natural canal, through which the waters of lake Erie[2] pass northward into lake Ontario. The level of lake Ontario is greatly lower than that of lake Erie; I do not know that the difference has ever been accurately ascertained, but it has been estimated at 450 feet. I am inclined to think however that this is very considerably above the truth, and should suppose 350 to be a nearer approximation.[3] Of this descent, rather more than 200 feet are accomplished at the great falls, nearly midway between the two lakes, and the remainder in the gradual declivity of the channel above and below them.

The traveller crosses from the American to the Canadian side at Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo. The channel is here about a mile in width, and the water issues from lake Erie in a very deep and impetuous current; the ferry-boat describes a very considerable curve before reaching the Canadian shore.

[2] Pronounced *Eery*.

[3] This may now be correctly ascertained from the levels of the great western canal.

It was on a beautiful morning that I last left Buffalo; the sky was clear and the air perfectly serene. Not a single cloud was seen upon the broad expanse, except in the northwest, on the very verge of the horizon, where two little fleecy specks appeared and disappeared at intervals; sometimes rising separately, and sometimes mingling their vapours. These were clouds of spray rising above the falls; perfectly conspicuous to the naked eye at a distance of twenty miles.[4]

The western bank of the Niagara has been settled for a considerable period; the land is of excellent quality, and a great part of it cleared and cultivated. It will no doubt be a long time, ere the whole landscape assume that unpicturesque commonplace, which is produced by ploughing and harrowing, levelling and enclosing; many an axe must be raised, and many a lofty pine-tree measure its length upon the ground, ere waving grain displace all the shaggy forests which stretch around. Time however, that silent but most innovating of reformers, is working wondrous changes on this western world; and his operations are nowhere so apparent as on the banks of navigable streams. In a few years, perhaps, the noise of the cataracts may be drowned in the busy hum of men; and the smoke

[4] Weld says that he saw the clouds of spray from the falls, while sailing on lake Erie, at a distance of 54 miles. From the appearance which they presented at a distance of 20 miles, I am inclined to think this not at all improbable.

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of clustering towns, or more crowded cities, obscure on the horizon the clouds of spray, which at present tower without a rival.

Passing along the bank you soon reach Grand Island, embraced in the forking of the river. Each arm of the stream is more than a mile in width; the western channel is the boundary between the British and American possessions, and this island, nearly seven miles long and containing between twenty and thirty thousand acres, is of course left within the territory of New York. It is of an irregular lozenge shape, and as yet thickly covered with pines and cedars.

Passing Grand Island, and Navy Island a smaller one which succeeds it, the stream becomes about two miles and a half wide, and you reach Chippawa creek, village, and fort, between two and three miles above the falls. Here terminates the navigation of the upper part of the Niagara, for the rapidity of the stream soon increases so considerably, that vessels cannot with safety venture farther. The change becomes very soon obvious on the surface of the water. Neither waves however, nor any violent agitation is visible for some time; you see only

"The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below."

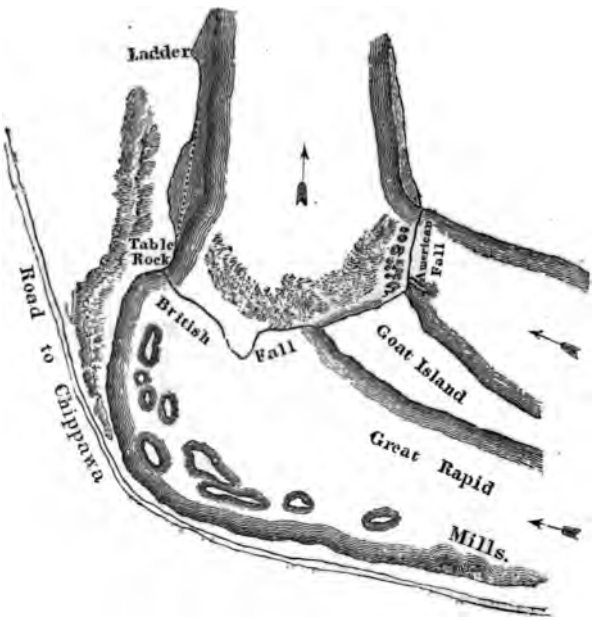
Dimples and indented lines, with here and there a little eddying whirl, run along near the shore; betokening at once the depth of the channel, the vast body of water, and the accelerated impetus with

which it hurries along. Every straw also that floats past, though motionless upon the bosom of the river and undisturbed by a single ripple, is the index of an irresistible influence, which sweeps to one common issue all within its grasp.

Goat Island, the lowest of all, now appears inserted like a wedge in the centre of the stream. By it the river is divided into two currents, which issue in the two great falls; and the nearer channel shelves down into a steep and rocky declivity, over which an extensive rapid foams and rushes with prodigious fury. Before reaching the island the traveller remarks at a distance the agitated billows, then the white crested breakers, and at length he has a full view of the rapid, nearly a mile in length, the immediate and most appropriate prelude to the great fall.

Nearly opposite the middle of Goat Island the channel of the rapid suddenly widens, encroaching with a considerable curvature upon the bank, as if a portion of the water sought to shun by a circuitous route its inevitable destiny. In this little bay, if it may be so called, are a number of islets covered with wood, and to all appearance securely anchored amid the brawling torrent; but before approaching them, you discover with surprise that the daring foot of man has ventured to descend the steep bank, to erect a cluster of mills, which dip their water wheels into the impetuous rapid. Immediately below, the shore bends to the right, contracting the

channel, and throwing back the reluctant water which had left the main current; and immediately the whole is engulfed in the great Horse Shoe Fall, which like an immense cauldron sends up to the sky a stupendous column of smoke and spray.



A few minutes' ride now gives you the first view of the falls. The road winds along pretty close by the bank of the stream, till past the centre of the great rapid, where the channel makes the returning bend to the right. The road does not follow this

bend, but going very nearly straight forward, recedes of course very considerably from the bank. The level of the road is by this time greatly higher than the surface of the river, which begins gradually to descend near Chippawa, and sinks about fifty feet in perpendicular height, between the commencement of the rapid and its termination. As the distance increases a little between the road and the bank, the vast concave of the falls of Niagara begins to open upon your view, inclining towards the road at an angle of about forty-five degrees. First you see the American fall, the farther extremity of the semicircle, breaking in a broad white sheet of foam upon a heap of rocks below. Close by its inner extremity is a gush of water which in any other situation would be esteemed a considerable cascade, but here seems but a fragment of the larger cataract separated by a small island or rock in the bed of the river. The eye then rests upon the precipitous end of Goat Island, consisting of accumulated masses of stone, in horizontal strata, supporting a scanty covering of earth, and crowded to the edge with pines. Last of all, about a third part of the concave of the British fall rounds into prospect; the remainder is concealed by the bend, and the elevation of the intervening bank. From the interior of this vast semicircle the spray is volumed upwards in prodigious masses, which conceal at intervals various portions of the scenery; and the deep hollow thun-

der of the cataracts is mingled with the roar of the long and angry rapid.

Perhaps you may ask, what was the impression produced on my mind by the first view of the falls? Decidedly that of disappointment. "And are these," thought I, "the great falls of Niagara, which I have been accustomed to think of with such profound astonishment, ever since I unfolded 'Science in sport, or the Pleasures of Natural Philosophy,' and read the wonderful account which is there given of them?"

> "——— well,
> What monstrous lies some travellers will tell!"

Disappointment is I believe a very common feeling when strangers first visit these cataracts. They have gathered their ideas of them from books of Geography and Travels, in which all the parts of speech, and degrees of comparison, are fatigued by a seemingly fruitless effort to sketch the stupendous scene. On the second occasion of my visiting them, the party consisted of five besides myself, and four of them returned to the tavern perfectly out of humour with the falls, and all who had ever written or spoken in their praise.

In my first visit I was quite alone, and piloted my way from the tavern to the edge of the precipitous bank, by the directions which I received from the landlord. Crossing a field or two, which slope from the road towards the river, a little below the

falls, I reached a small distillery, past which a kind of foot path conducts to the edge of the bank. The ground is marshy for a considerable space up and down, with a good deal of brushwood scattered about, but part of it had been cut away from the brow of the precipice, to afford a view of the falls.

I looked cautiously over the brink. The water was foaming past, about a hundred and sixty feet below me; beyond it rose the bank on the American side, precipitous and rocky, and away to the right the immense basin, into which the waters were thundering, and from which the columns of spray were towering up in misty grandeur.

Turning to the right I followed a narrow path, which skirted the edge of the bank; but stepped slowly and with caution, for I had read alarming accounts of the abundance of rattlesnakes in this quarter, and I had a very sincere horror of such society. Before reaching the Table Rock, as it is called, at which this path terminates, I stopped behind a few bushes upon a projecting edge, from which I enjoyed a commanding prospect of the wonders before me. A larger portion of the amphitheatre was now in sight, and the roar, and rushing, and descent of the waters, increasingly grand. While I stood gazing here, I heard a rustling of the leaves beside me. I listened;—it ceased. I turned my eyes again towards the falls—the rustling was repeated, and it evidently proceeded from about the roots of the bushes. A cold quivering ran hastily

over me, I expected to see two fiery eyeballs glaring from among the grass, and feared to stir from the spot, lest I should tread upon the reptile's tail. I looked down in eager anxiety, and at last a little bird hopped out from under the lower branches, where it had probably been making its supper on a worm. So terminates, thought I, with a deep respiration this alarming adventure!

After spending about two hours, surveying the wonders of the place from different situations, I returned to the tavern; and under the expectation of being able to revisit the spot in the course of a few days, started early next morning for the town from which I now write. Let me here however warn you never to delay viewing an object of curiosity, merely because you have the prospect of seeing it at some future period. I had allotted for my second visit a descent to the bottom of the falls; but after reaching lake Ontario, I found it necessary to embark almost immediately, and pursue my course down the St. Lawrence. I was not then aware that I should return over the same route in the autumn, and it was therefore with sincere regret that I reflected on my premature eagerness to leave the falls, in the hope of getting back to them. Last week however brought me again to the spot, and I resolved that on this occasion, I should leave as little as possible to the chance of a future visit.

The falls made a more powerful impression on my mind when they opened to view for the second

time, on the road from Chippawa. The American fall appeared broader, deeper, much more imposing, than when I first saw it. The craggy end of Goat Island[5] seemed more precipitous and grand; a bald eagle was perched upon its very edge, close by the side of the British fall, and waved its pinions in safety over the profound abyss. The curve of the British fall next circled in, and the recollection of how much was still hid from view, powerfully aided the combined effect.

After an early dinner, the party with whom I came set out for a nearer view. During the summer, the American newspapers had announced that the whole of the Table Rock had given way, and been precipitated into the channel of the river; I was therefore eager to ascertain the extent of the mischief. We got over the rail fences of two fields, and passing the distillery to which I have already alluded, reached the edge of the precipice. On looking to the right, I at once remarked the great change which had taken place. From within a few feet of where I stood, the bank which had formerly run forward nearly in a straight line towards the Table Rock, now presented a great concavity. The foot path along which I had formerly walked,

[5] The Genius of Poetry seems to have paid a visit to the falls since I was last there. I observe that Mr. Schoolcraft, and another recent American traveller, talk of 'Iris Island,' and the 'Pavilion,' and the 'Ontario Hotel,' names which were not in existence when I was there. 'Goat Island' was probably never seen by a goat, but its new appellation is too sentimental. (1823.)

and the bushes behind which I had stood, had all disappeared:—the rock upon whose deceitful support they rested, had suddenly given way, from top to bottom, and a mass, as we were informed, about 160 feet in length, and from 30 to 40 in breadth,[6] upon which I had formerly imagined myself in security, now lay shattered into ten thousand fragments at the bottom of the precipice. I cannot describe my emotions in contemplating the scene before me. I had trode where the foot of man will never tread again—I had stood and walked, where nothing but the invisible atmosphere is now incumbent.

The final disruption of this mass took place about midnight in the month of July or August. The landlord of the tavern had walked over it the preceding afternoon with two ladies and a gentleman; they returned the following day to view the frightful chasm, and one of the ladies shed tears at the spectacle.

A new path, winding considerably backward from the brow of the cliff, has been cut through the brushwood with which the marsh abounds, and a line of planks conducts the traveller to the Table Rock. The rent extended to within a few yards of this celebrated spot, but no part of it gave way; how long it may be ere it does so, none can say.

The top of the Table Rock forms a circular platform of considerable area, on the same level,

[6] Marked by a dotted line in the cut, on page 36.

and in immediate contact, with the western extremity of the British fall. It extends backward for several yards, and I put the point of my shoe into the water, with perfect safety, immediately before it was precipitated from the cliff. In front the rock projects some feet beyond the line of the fall, and of the inferior mass of rocks upon which it is supported; it requires not a little nerve to approach the edge, but the landlord told us that he has seen people sitting with their feet hanging over it, coolly engaged in sketching a view of the falls. It was not without considerable timidity that I crept near enough to look over, close by the brink of the water; but the sight of the gulph below repays the effort, and indeed is one that can never be forgotten. The water breaks into spray at the very top, and sends up a steam from the inexplorable abyss, which shrouds all below in most terrific obscurity. A portion of the vapour rises between the descending water and the rock, and comes whirling out in the most violent agitation; and the deep hollow sound of the cataract, reverberating from the rocky caverns, completes the elements of sublimity with which the scene is charged.

Leaving the Table Rock we returned by the winding foot-path, and a short way below the road from the distillery we reached the ladder, which conducts to the bed of the river. I had imagined that there must be a good deal of danger connected with descending, but on the contrary it is perfectly

safe. The top of the ladder[6] is secured betw
the stumps of two trees, against the side of a d
gash in the rock, and slopes down along the f
of the precipice, the lower end resting upon a la
accumulation of soil and rock which has form
fallen from above.

There is some difficulty however in getting
ward, after having arrived at the foot of the lad
The path lies to the right along a sloping bank
earth and stones, alternately rising and fall
though ultimately descending as you approach
falls. The footway is so narrow that it admits
no more than one abreast; it is besides wet
slippery throughout, and in many places enc
bered with fragments of rock. To look up is fri
ful; in some places the higher stratum of
overhangs the rest most threateningly, and
fissures are so numerous, that the whole fabri
the bank seems to be held together by a most
carious cohesion. Your progress is also impe
by the thick rain which is every where descend
sometimes filtering through the seams of the r
sometimes falling in heavy drops from its edge
from the eaves of a house, and in two or t
places spouting upon you in a continued stre
This water proceeds from the marsh above, an

[6] Mr. Howison says that there is now a spiral staircase inclo
a wooden building; this is an improvement since my last
Howison's Upper Canada, p. 96. 1*st. Edit.*

gradually washing out the earth was doubtless the cause of the bank's giving way last summer.

With considerable exertion, and not without being completely drenched, we made our way to the fragments of the large portion which fell. The separation had taken place from top to bottom, in a straight line, leaving the new surface which was disclosed, perfectly smooth and perpendicular. A deep rent is quite evident behind that part which supports the Table Rock, and in all probability some future traveller will have to record its fall. It was not till now that we could form any adequate idea of the prodigious extent of the ruin. Large masses lay hurled across the declivity, and piled one upon another, so as to render walking both difficult and dangerous. Some large pieces seemed so nicely poised upon each other, that a slight touch would have overset them, and communicated motion to all that were near.

Desirous of getting to the bottom of the great fall, I made my way about half way over the scattered masses, but when I felt some of them rocking under me, and saw that no one of the party ventured to follow, I thought prudence required that I should turn. Before facing about, however, I broke from the edge of a large block of limestone a piece of portable dimensions which was penetrated by veins of white crystals, and contained in a cleft in one end of it a fine group very regularly formed.

I now stood and surveyed the wondrous scene

before me, mentally comparing the view of the falls from below, with that which I had enjoyed from the Table Rock. Of the magnitude and force of the descending torrents, we have here a much more impressive conception; for as we see no part of the rapids above, and indeed nothing of the flood till it has begun its decent from the cliff, the mind is occupied almost entirely with the height, and width, and grandeur, of the two enormous cascades. We look up in amazement, at the unintermitted pouring of so vast an accumulation of waters; and were this the only view which could be obtained, it would seem an inscrutable mystery, from what source so immeasurable a volume of fresh water could be constantly poured forth.

The noise of the falls is of course greatly increased below; indeed it thunders in the ear most overpoweringly. I use the term *thunders*, for want of a more appropriate one, but it by no means conveys any adequate idea of the awfully deep and unvarying sound.

To heighten the splendour of the scene, a magnificent rainbow, pencilled on the clouds of spray, and perfectly unbroken from end to end, overarched the space between the one bank and the other, at the widest part. This in so entire a state is rather a rare occurrence; for though the prismatic colours are always visible during sunshine, floating in little fragments here and there, they only unite into a regular bow in particular positions of the sun, and

never complete the semicircular curve but when the air, as happened on this occasion, is perfectly calm. I was peculiarly fortunate in the period of this visit.

It is now not unusual to cross in a boat a short way below the falls, to the American shore, and there enjoy a considerable variety of prospect, but for this I had not time.[7]

A beautiful moonlight evening succeeded, and so favourable an opportunity of another view was not to be neglected. The moon was about the third quarter, the sky still without a cloud, but a gentle breeze had risen which carried the spray towards the tavern, and immediately on leaving the house I felt it descending like a very gentle rain. I did not venture at so late an hour to thread the mazes of the path to the Table Rock, but repaired to a sloping bank at the bottom of a field immediately above it. The moon's rays fell directly upon the American cascade, leaving the greater part of the other fall in deep shadow. The spray appeared to rise in greatly increased volumes, and the dim light mingling with its haze, and accompanied by a perceptible increase in the sound of the cateracts, imparted to the whole a peculiar sublimity which was wanting in day light.

[7] General Porter on the American side has succeeded in throwing a wooden bridge across from the main land to Goat Island, a short way above the falls. The success of this daring attempt has opened up many new points of view to the future traveller.

Various opinions prevail as to the most favourable situation for viewing the falls. Some prefer the road to Chippawa, some the Table Rock, some the rising bank above it, and some the bottom of the precipice. The view from the road to Chippawa is the one which a traveller from Buffalo first obtains; and after the mind has become familiar with the other aspects of the scenery, and can mentally associate what is hid with what is seen, perhaps the circumstance of its having been the first view, may induce him to think it the best. From the Table Rock the spectator has a more complete view of the great fall; commanding at the same time the whole of the furious rapid above,[8] from the first tumultuous roll of the waves, down through its foaming course, till it subsides at the middle of the curve into momentary smoothness, and then dashes below. Here also he has a more appalling impression of the terrors of the scene, for the look

[8] The following information is interesting and as I had no opportunity of acquiring it on the spot, I willingly quote it from the narrative of a succeeding traveller. "What has been said by Goldsmith, and repeated by others, respecting the destructive influence of the rapids above, to ducks and other waterfowl, is only an effect of the imagination. So far from being the case, the wild duck is often seen to swim down the rapids to the brink of the falls, and then fly out and repeat the descent, seeming to take delight in the exercise. Neither are small land birds affected, in flying over the falls, in the manner that has been stated. I observed the blue bird and the wren, which had already made their annual visit to the banks of the Niagara, frequently fly within one or two feet of the brink, apparently de-

from the edge of the rock down into the abyss, is certainly without a parallel. Altogether however he is too close upon the great fall, while the one on the American side seems but an episode to the other. From the rising bank above the Table Rock there is perhaps a better grouping of the various features of the landscape; but then you are elevated considerably above the most important objects, a situation which is fatal to powerful impression from objects either of nature or art. At the bottom of the precipice you more adequately appreciate the vastness of the foaming cataracts, their tremendous sound, the terror of the impending precipice, and the boiling of the mighty flood, but to these characteristics your view is confined.

The truth is that you must contemplate the scene from every point of view, before you can be acquainted with half its grandeur. Every succeeding look, and every shifting of your position, exhibit something which you did not observe before, and

lighted with the gift of their wings, which enabled them to sport over such frightful precipices without danger." *Schoolcraft's Travels to the sources of the Mississippi, p.* 38.

This writer is quite incorrect in saying that the Table Rock fell in 1818, subjoining in a note, 'The Table Rock was a favourite point of view for many years, and the day preceding the night on which it fell with tremendous noise, a number of visitors had stood with careless security upon it.' The mass which fell was several yards from the Table Rock, although the name was sometimes inaccurately extended to it; the 'favourite point of view' was left uninjured.

I believe that those who have visited the falls the oftenest, admire and wonder at them the most. I spent a great part of the following day upon the bank, traversing it backwards and forwards, alone; eager to exhaust every possible variety of prospect, and when I turned to take the last look, I felt a degree of regret which I believe was never excited in my breast by any analogous cause.

For the disappointment which is usually felt in gaining the first look of the falls, it is not difficult to account. We are accustomed to expect that the peculiar beauties of 'the mountain and the flood' should never be disconnected in the landscape, and are not prepared to find the falls of Niagara in the midst of a tract of country level to perfect deadness; a country where for miles around not a solitary hillock varies the surface, and nothing meets the eye but interminable forests of pine. The positions from which you must view the falls, and their vast semicircular width, detract most surprisingly from their apparent altitude. Add to all this, the unbridled scope in which imagination delights to riot, magnifying what is small and exaggerating what is great, and surely it will no longer be surprising that many, who take but a flying view of the wonders of Niagara, should depart utterly displeased that they are not still more wonderful.

The measurement of the falls has been variously stated, but the discrepancy in the more recent accounts is not very considerable. The

Horse Shoe or British fall may be stated at about 150 feet in height; its width can only be approximated, but following the curve it is generally estimated at about 2000 feet; the chord of the arc, from the end of Goat Island to the Table Rock, cannot much exceed a half of that extent. The Horse Shoe fall, however, has but a remote resemblance to that which gives it its name; it forms a small and irregular segment of a circle, with a very deep angular gash near the centre. In this gap the water glides over the edge of the rock with most crystalline smoothness, while at either extremity it breaks into snow-white foam at the very edge. The American fall is about 1100 feet in extreme width, including the comparatively small jet at the inner extremity. Its height is 165 feet; but though thus in reality exceeding by 15 feet the height of the British fall, it appears to the eye of an observer on this side considerably lower; partly from the effect of the perspective, but more particularly from an accumulation of rocks at the bottom, upon which the water breaks. The brow of Goat Island which divides the falls, is about 980 feet in breadth. The whole extent therefore of the concave, from the farther extremity of the American fall to the Table Rock, following the line of the cataracts, is according to this calculation very nearly 4000 feet, or about four times the breadth of the river half a mile below. You will more readily perhaps conceive of the features of

the falls by referring to the rude sketch which accompanies this description.

Most of the accounts of the falls which are contained in geographical works, mention that the sound of them is heard at a very great distance. This is comparatively seldom the case. I have been told in the neighbourhood that in particular states of the barometer, and especially before stormy weather, the sound of the cataracts is heard twenty miles off, or even farther; but on both occasions I could with difficulty distinguish it at a distance of two miles, and sometimes, I understand, it does not reach so far.

The falls of Niagara are among those phenomena in the external world, from which speculatists have spun a cobweb theory of the earth, proving or intended to prove

> "That he who made it, and revealed its date
> To Moses, was mistaken in its age."

There is every reason to believe from the aspect of the banks, and the character of the surrounding country above and below the falls, that the river has at some former period scooped out the channel, through the solid limestone, from Queenston, about seven miles below, to the position of the present cataracts. Below Queenston, the ground on both sides of the river is very nearly of the same level with the banks of lake Ontario, but at that town it rises with a sudden and steep slope

Niagara have been at work, for a much larger period than six thousand years.

With the same facility of hypothesis and assertion, they have decided upon its future as easily as upon its past operations. It is inevitably certain, we are assured, that it will gradually saw its way twenty miles farther and drain lake Erie, and going backward three hundred miles, take up its temporary residence below Detroit. It is needless for us at present to pursue it any farther.

But if we grant, that there was a time when the water from lake Erie first made a breach in Queenston heights, these theorists cannot refuse, that there must have been a previous time when no breach as yet existed. If so, where then was the outlet of lake Erie? By what channel did the waters of the great chain of western lakes, above Ontario, find a passage to the ocean? If these lakes did not then exist, and if they and their outlet were the simultaneous result of some mighty terraqueous convulsion, may it not be as reasonably concluded that the whole channel of the Niagara, from the present falls to Queenston, was ploughed out by the same revolutionizing struggle? —and that in place of being the operation of thousands of years, it may have been the work of a month or perhaps of a day? Upon this supposition it is not difficult to account for the present position of the falls; below them the channel is comparatively narrow and confined, and the current must

have raged, as indeed it still does, with much more fury and effect than where it is less pent up. At the falls it is divided by an island into two arms, each wider than the channel below; and farther up it is diffused over a still more ample surface, peacefully winding round islands of various sizes, or smoothly expanding into a kind of bay. Within the semicircular outline also of the present falls, a kind of basin is embraced, in which the water foams and whirls in great agitation, but in which it has space to subside into smoothness before breaking on the bank; and it is comparatively tranquil at a short distance below.

In a word, the assertions which have been made respecting the gradual retrocession of the falls, seem to be altogether gratuitous. It is possible that some partial change may take place in the outline of the great fall; some piece of rock may give way, as was the case in the bank below, but there seems not the slightest reason to believe, either that the change has hitherto been incessant and gradual, or that it will hereafter be so. The earliest accounts which were given of them by European writers are obviously and grossly fabulous, describing them as seven or eight hundred feet high, and a mile and a half broad; but the first which were at all authentic correspond remarkably, at the distance of a century, with the present aspect of the cataracts. Goat Island is correctly delineated according to its present condition; for to

this day, as then, it exactly coincides with the edge of the precipice over which the water on each side descends. Weld indeed, who visited the falls in 1796, speaks in decided terms of a change in the features of the Horse Shoe fall, but apart from the consideration that this writer is somewhat addicted to the marvellous,[10] his account is not consistent with itself. He says, that "within the memory of many of the present inhabitants of the country, the falls have receded *several yards*," and "tradition tells us that the Great Fall instead of having been in the form of a horse shoe, once projected in the middle." Among whom this tradition prevails he does not mention, but immediately adds —"for a century past however it has remained nearly in the present form." That the falls had receded several yards, in the recollection of those who were then alive, is sufficiently disproved by the consideration, that if so, Goat Island must have projected so many yards below them, while in point of fact it does not to this day project a single foot; and how their receding several yards in one

[10] For instance we are told (*Vol. II. p.* 243.) that he "saw a young Shawnese chief, apparently not more than ten years old, fix three arrows running in the body of a small black squirrel, on the top of a very tall tree." How 'the small black squirrel' after having been transfixed by one arrow, could retain its position till other two went through it, completely exceeds my comprehension. His story of the mosquito which bit through General Washington's boot, has been often quoted and laughed at, but this other is quite as credible.

generation, can be reconciled with the concession that the Great Fall has preserved its present form for nearly a century, would puzzle a geologist to tell. The fact is, there is nothing known of the falls beyond the specified century, and those who are disposed to invent marvellous stories respecting their youthful days, are completely unfettered either by historical or traditional record.

Travelling from the falls to Queenston, I passed, without recollecting it, a remarkable whirlpool in the river, which has called forth the astonishment of several travellers. It is said to arise from a large excavation in the bank on the British side, into which the current whirls with prodigious violence, depositing trunks of trees and the carcasses of animals which have been swept down the falls. As I did not see it I cannot be more minute in my description, without transcribing from authors who are accessible to every one.

At Queenston the navigation of the river is resumed, and a canal has long been talked of, to save the land carriage, which is at present necessary between this and Chippawa. Probably as the country increases in population, and its inhabitants in capital and enterprize, this may be accomplished, but in its present condition the idea is hopeless.

At Queenston the battle was fought in which General Brock fell, and the inhabitants point out a thorn bush at the bottom of the heights, where

it is said that he received his mortal wound. H career was a short but a brilliant one, and had t direction of the affairs of the Upper provinc after his death, been characterized by an equal d gree of courage, prudence, and humanity, a ve different series of subsequent events would ha claimed the attention of the historian.

I passed only an hour in Queenston, after whi I crossed to Lewiston the village on the Americ side. It was Saturday afternoon, and I wished spend the following day at a neighbouring villa of the Tuscarora Indians, where a missionary fro a society in New York has been employed for son time. An account of this visit shall be the subje of next letter.

LETTER XII.

LETTER [illegible]

[illegible]

Lewiston, [illegible]

I CROSSED from Q[illegible] to L[illegible] on a very beautiful afternoon [illegible]. The current of this river is here very [illegible], and though the [illegible] pulled with all his strength [illegible] the boat fell considerably down before we reached the opposite shore.

Lewiston enjoys several [illegible] advantages as a point of communication with Canada. It stands at the commencement of the [illegible] navigation of the Niagara; and at the end of the [illegible], which extends in a pretty direct line from the neighbourhood of Canandaigua. This [illegible] traverses an [illegible] line of [illegible] and of course is exempt from all the [illegible] of [illegible]

LETTER XIV.

LEWISTON—VISIT TO THE TUSCARORA VILLAGE—APPEARANCE OF THE INDIANS—CHURCH—SERMON—INDIAN'S PRAYER—MISSIONARY'S HOUSE—INDIAN GUESTS—INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE TRIBE—ANECDOTES—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES—THEIR PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS—ANCIENT REMAINS IN OHIO—INDIAN LANGUAGES—RELIGION.

Niagara, October, 1818.

I CROSSED from Queenston to Lewiston on a very beautiful afternoon shortly before sunset. The current of this river is here very powerful, and although the ferryman, a stout fellow from Ireland, pulled with all his strength against the stream, the boat fell considerably down before we reached the opposite shore.

Lewiston enjoys several local advantages, as a point of communication with Canada. It stands at the commencement of the lower navigation of the Niagara; and at the end of the ridge road, which extends in a pretty direct line from the neighbourhood of Canandaigua. This road, as its name imports, traverses an elevated line of rock, and of course is exempt from all the horrors of swamps

and log causeways. Lewiston shared deeply in the eventful vicissitudes of last war. It was the head-quarters of the army which crossed to attack General Brock, when that gallant officer fell; towards the latter part of the war it was like Buffalo burned to the ground. Its present appearance does not betoken much wealth in its inhabitants; but the whole of this district, both on the American and British side of the river, exhibits symptoms of considerable exhaustion.

After breakfast on Sabbath morning I set out in a small waggon for the Tuscarora village; I had previously ascertained that the Indians did not meet for worship till noon. The village is about four miles from Lewiston, on the south of the ridge road; the log huts are scattered at some little distance from each other, on the brow of the slope which forms the continuation of the heights of Queenston.

Leaving the waggon at a small inn by the road side, I entered the first Indian hut and enquired for the church. An old Indian to whom I addressed myself understood my question, but he was able to speak but little English, and his answer was made intelligible more by gestures than by words. Following the path to which he pointed me, I reached after traversing two or three fields a log hut of larger dimensions than the rest, which I could perceive to be the church from a few Indians and others who were beginning to assemble

about it; the female Indians were all going in, but the men waited outside for the minister's arrival.

Seating myself on the trunk of a tree, between a fine looking old Indian and a white man, I looked round with feelings of lively interest on the unwonted scene. Deep forests bounded the prospect in every direction, but for a considerable space around, the axe had been busy, and log huts and rail fences marked the habitations and improvements of man. Fields ripe for harvest, and others already stripped, showed that the red children of the forest had at least to a certain degree abandoned the chase, for the less precarious support of agriculture. There were no reapers however in the fields; the peacefulness of the day of christian rest was not violated in the Indian village, and before me was an humble log hut appropriated to the worship of the christian's God, and to the instruction of the despised aborigines of America. "The sound of the church-going bell" was indeed wanting; but an old Indian at the porch was winding a long blast upon a horn, and as its echoes rung through the woods Indians and white men, old and young, assembled at the summons.

There was an obvious difference between the appearance of these Indians, and that of the Oneydas and Senecas whom I had previously seen. The scattered remnants of the ancient proprietors of the soil, which are met with here and

there in the settlements of the whites, are generally in a state of miserable degradation, and afford no means whatever of correctly appreciating the true Indian character. We might as well estimate Englishmen by the inmates of a bridewell or a convict ship. Idleness and dissipation have ruined all that was noble in this wonderful people. Squalid and dispirited you see them wandering about wrapped in the remains of a dirty blanket, miserable dependants on the bounty of those who have stripped them of their hunting grounds, and almost extirpated their race. "Their spirits are debased by conscious inferiority, and their native courage completely daunted by the superior knowledge and power of their enlightened neighbours. Society has advanced upon them like a many-headed monster, breathing every variety of misery. Before it went forth pestilence, famine and the sword; and in its train came the slow but exterminating curse of trade. What the former did not sweep away, the latter has gradually blighted. It has increased their wants, without increasing the means of gratification. It has enervated their strength, multiplied their diseases, blasted the powers of their mind, and superinduced on their original barbarity the low vices of civilization. Poverty, repining and hopeless poverty—a canker of the mind unknown to sylvan life—corrodes their very hearts. They loiter like vagrants through the settlements, among spacious habitations replete

with artificial comforts, which only render them sensible of the comparative wretchedness of their own condition. Luxury spreads its ample board before their eyes, but they are expelled from the banquet. The forest, which once furnished them with ample means of subsistence, has been levelled to the ground—waving fields of grain have sprung up in its place, but they have no participation in the harvest; plenty revels around them, but they are starving amidst its stores; the whole wilderness blossoms like a garden, but they feel like the reptiles which infest it."[1]

The Tuscaroras, however, who were gathering around me, presented a remarkable and cheering contrast. They were all decently, some of them even showily dressed, and in almost all of them might be recognized marks of the enjoyment of personal and social comfort. There was indeed in every red countenance a dash of seriousness—perhaps of gloom—which seemed to say, "Indians are not what they once were;" yet it seemed rather the gloom of resignation than that of despair, and we might suppose them mentally to add, "but we are not without hopes of better things."

Indians are still remarkable for their tacitur-

[1] An extract from a paper, by Mr. Washington Irving, in the American Analectic Magazine for February 1815, in which the author warmly pleads the cause of the poor Indians. He has subsequently altered it considerably, and published it in the British edition of the Sketch Book; it may interest some readers to remark the sedulous care with which Mr. Irving elaborates his compositions.

nity, and little conversation took place among those who were assembling. About twelve o'clock Mr. and Mrs. Crane, the missionary and his wife, arrived, and all followed them into the church. The building serves the double purpose of a church on Sabbath, and a school-house during the week.

A small desk at the upper end was Mr. Crane's pulpit; benches ranged around served for pews to the congregation, and on the walls were hung the large alphabets and spelling lessons which are used in Lancasterian schools. The aspect of the congregation was to me novel and interesting. The Indians wore dresses of broad cloth, of various colours; the men a kind of frock coat and leggings; the women a large mantle, red, blue, or green, with leggings and moccassins fancifully embroidered; some of them had a profusion of silver ornaments on various parts of their dress. The whole preserved the most decorous silence and solemnity; the women sitting enveloped in their mantle, with its folds brought up with the left hand across the mouth, so that only the upper part of the countenance was visible.

The service was begun by a hymn which the ndians sung in their own language, and in a very pleasing style, to one of our ordinary church tunes. Most of them had music books open before them. Of the sentiment and spirit which were embodied in their melody, I could of course form no judgment, but from what I afterwards learned, I doubt

not that it was with some of them the acceptable worship of a renewed and grateful heart.

At the conclusion of the hymn, Mr. Crane gave a short and familiar address on the nature and importance of the gospel. He has not yet been long enough among them to acquire their language, but for the present is obliged to communicate through an interpreter. An old Indian, whose name as I afterwards learned was Kusick, placed himself by the side of Mr. Crane's desk, and interpreted the address to his brethren, sentence by sentence.

Another hymn by the Indian auditory succeeded, after which Mr. Crane offered up a fervent prayer for the presence and blessing of God. He then read out his text from the Epistle to the Galatians, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain;" and proceeded to address his red audience upon the importance of improving by the great advantages which they enjoyed. A brief outline of what I afterwards wrote down of the discourse, may not be uninteresting.[2]

"The Great Spirit," said Mr. Crane, "has been particularly kind to this nation; he has bestowed upon you privileges and blessings, which very few of the Indian nations enjoy. He has sent

[2] Shortly after the author's return from America he published a familiar, but rather more detailed account, of the events of this day, in the form of a premium book for Sabbath schools; it is entitled "A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians," and may be referred to for some additional information respecting them.

you that greatest of all blessings, his Holy Word, to instruct you in a knowledge of yourselves, his dependent creatures; to tell you that you are sinners, but to show you also how your sins may be forgiven; to make known to you how you may enjoy God's favour in this world, and everlasting life and happiness in the world to come."

Mr. Crane then proclaimed the prominent and all important truth of the glorious gospel, and urged its reception by many arguments, addressed to the consciences of his hearers. He then reverted to the phraseology of his text, and stated that he felt himself compelled to adopt it, as applicable to many of those to whom he had for a long time been accustomed to preach. Of many of them he much feared, that, as regards the ultimate end of preaching, he had hitherto entirely failed; his labour had been bestowed in vain—they were still callous and indifferent—not convinced of their sins—not convinced of their need of a Saviour—anxiously engaged in the pursuit of present enjoyment, but utterly unconcerned about judgment and eternity.

He then vindicated the authority of the Bible, as a message from the Most High God; arguing that none but He could have devised or executed a plan of salvation, so admirably suited to our situation, and displaying so intimate a knowledge of the deceitful heart, and ruined state of man. He asserted the mighty power of the gospel, in promoting good

conduct and happiness among all who believed it. He compared the condition of the Tuscarora nation, with that of the other Indian nations which were around them; he compared their present condition with that in which they had formerly lived, before the gospel was preached among them; he compared the conduct of those who had embraced the gospel, with that in which they had indulged before they felt its power; and he pressed it home upon them as an unquestionable fact, that the effect of true religion was to promote individual and universal happiness.

He then warned them of the awful danger of trifling with the communications of the Great Spirit, of resisting and neglecting the word of God; declaring that sooner or later, irremediable destruction would be the portion of all who hardened their hearts in unbelief.

"Oh then," said Mr. Crane in conclusion, "let not this labour be bestowed on you in vain! Believe the truths which are declared to you; listen to the proclamation of mercy which is published to you; obey the counsel which is given to you, and thus your souls shall live. Recollect also, that if you reject the offers of mercy which the Great Spirit has made, he will inflict more dreadful punishments upon you, than upon those who never heard his name proclaimed. If the labour has been "bestowed upon you in vain," then your guilt is much greater than it was before. You had

not then heard of the goodness and mercy of the Great Spirit,—you had not then heard that he was willing to be your Father; but now you have heard this, and if you do not become his children, it is because you will not. Why will you then trifle with your eternal interests?—and why must I still say of so many, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain?"

During Mr. Crane's discourse, the interpreter, old Kusick, continued by his side, and at the conclusion of every sentence rendered it into the Tuscarora language. A preacher could scarcely desire a more attentive audience. To myself the scene was most interesting. There was something peculiarly solemn in the process, by which important truths were communicated to men of another race, from the lips of a person who was unacquainted with their language. To reflect also, that those who were sitting to receive instruction were the poor Indians of America, the descendants of those who had been hunted from mountain to forest by Europeans of other days; and who perhaps, goaded to madness and despair, had when opportunity served turned upon their destroyers, and with the tomohawk and scalping knife exacted a fearful retribution for the wrongs which had been heaped upon them;—to see the white and the red man, sitting together like brothers, "taking sweet counsel" from the same heavenly volume, and cheering each other's hearts with the hopes of futurity and bliss—

was all calculated to give an intensity of interest to the very peculiar scene.

I have mentioned that Mr. Crane prayed in English before the sermon; at its conclusion he desired the interpreter Kusick to call on one of the Indians, named William, to pray. The whole congregation immediately rose from their seats, and William, lifting up his hands, poured out in his native tongue a fervent prayer to God. Thus are the triumphs of the cross extending, and thus are the distinctions of lineage and colour falling before the influence of that gospel, which declares that "in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Gentile, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free!"

> "Oh scenes surpassing fable, and yet true!—
> * * * * *
> One song employs all nations, and all sing
> 'Worthy the Lamb! for he was slain for us!'
> The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
> Shout to each other. And the mountain tops
> From distant mountains catch the flying joy;
> Till nation after nation taught the strain,
> Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round!"

But it may perhaps be suspected, that William had previously committed a form of prayer to memory, and was only reciting it as a school-boy does his task. To hear and to see him, were more than sufficient to set this suspicion aside. He commenced in a serious, composed manner, as one who is impressed with the solemnity of addressing the

God of heaven and earth. He became more ani mated as he went on. His animation gradually increased to fervour—and his fervour to emotion—and his emotion became stronger, and stronger till at last it overpowered him, and for a momen he was silent. Struggling to repress his feelings he endeavoured to proceed. A sentence or tw more, and he could restrain himself no longer his breast heaved—his whole frame was agitated—he sobbed aloud—and the big tears rolled dow his dark coloured cheeks.

Nor were William's the only tears that flowed Many of the Indians were equally affected, an most of the whites, though ignorant of the lan guage of the prayer, felt the touch of sympathy a their breast;—who indeed, who was not cold a statuary, could have resisted it? If prayer be th offering up of the heart's desires unto God, surel this was a prayer. I cannot indeed offer you any ab stract of its petitions, but I think we cannot far er in supposing, that these unwonted tears which thi 'Stoic of the woods' poured forth, were wrung fron him in powerful intercession for the men of his na tion, that none of them might remain insensible t the voice which spoke to them from God. "Th effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availetl much," and surely this was a fervent prayer.

When William concluded, another Indian aros and voluntarily addressed the meeting. He wa dressed in a style somewhat superior to most o

them, and wore at his breast a large silver medal, bearing the bust of Washington. I learned afterwards that he was a chief, named Longboard. Longboard folded his arms as he rose, and addressed us in a speech of about ten minutes. It was evident that he did not speak under the influence of any peculiar emotion, for his drawling accents presented a striking contrast to the impassioned prayer of William.

I was subsequently informed that Longboard's address, though professedly in favour of Mr. Crane and the instructions which he gave, was secretly intended to prop his own authority; that when a fitting opportunity offered, it might be exerted in an opposite way.[3] He was formerly a chief of considerable influence in the nation, and his inclinations were strongly opposed to the introduction of christianity, but finding that it was obviously gaining ground, he for a time trimmed to the current; he often said that it was altogether in consequence of his addresses, that any improvement had taken place in the character and conduct of the Indians.

[3] Longboard was not slandered in the character which was given of him. He and some others have since made a vigorous effort to emancipate the nation from the new doctrines, and to expel Mr. Crane and the teacher of the school. The result has been as every good man would wish. The pagan chief and his adherents found it necessary to retire into Upper Canada, leaving the christian Indians, and all who favoured them, in undisturbed possession of the village. The contest occasioned considerable confusion for a time, but it has been succeeded by peace and harmony. (1822.)

At the conclusion of Longboard's address, the Indians united in singing another hymn; after which Mr. Crane pronounced the usual benediction, and the congregation separated.

What I had seen and heard among the Tuscaroras only excited a desire to know more, and although a stranger to Mr. Crane, I thought that in such circumstances the want of a letter of introduction was but a trifling difficulty; I stepped up to him therefore as he left the church, and mentioning my name, and the occasion of my visit, said that I should be happy to have an opportunity of acquiring some farther information. Mr. Crane shook hands with me with the utmost cordiality, and introducing me to Mrs. Crane invited me to accompany them home. This invitation I very willingly accepted; not the less so, that some of the Indians, among whom were William and his wife Nancy, were to accompany us.

On reaching Mr. Crane's house, dinner was set before us; but as is usual here in many places on the Sabbath, it was both dinner and tea combined into a single meal. William, by his pastor's desire, asked the blessing in his native tongue, for the benefit of his red brethren, and Mr. Crane on behalf of the whites returned thanks in English. The Indians behaved at table with as much propriety as any others present. Some of them could speak a little English, but they were shy of doing it before a stranger; and the conversation was left

Crane and myself. Mr. Crane, a
to the Indians, and them and I
the great waters, from the country
people lived, who in former times
Britain to preach among the

and their conduct in private life is every wa
sistent with their public profession. Mr. an
Crane took tea a short time ago in W
house; the children[5] were, as on all forme
sions, perfectly obedient and respectful in th
haviour; they waited in patience, for their t
the older people had finished, and then w
by one to their mother and thanked her f
she had given them.

Mr. Crane assured me, that a material im
ment has taken place in the condition of the
roras, since the introduction of christianity
them. They were, a few years ago, in a stat
great debasement as any of the nations
them; but now out of their whole number,
amounts including women and children t
three hundred, not more than ten ever in
excess in spirituous liquors. Even these d
seldom; and for some time after each trans
they keep as much as possible out of sight,
think it has been forgotten.

Agriculture is considerably attended t
them; and in addition to Indian corn, th
begun to cultivate wheat, which requir
more attention, but is a more valuable crop
affected by the vicissitudes of the weather
are honest in their transactions with eac

[5] The religious magazines have recently announced t
William's eldest daughter, a girl of seventeen. She is
died enjoying the hope and consolations of the gospel. (

and with the whites around them, and industrious in providing for the support of their families. The benefits of christianity, therefore, have not been confined to those who have publicly professed it; a standard of honesty and morality has been introduced among them; propriety of conduct has been countenanced, and vice discouraged; and as a community they are happy and comfortable beyond what they ever were before.

Kusick the interpreter, one of their chiefs, is a decided christian. Some of the other chiefs are still unbelievers, but even they have been compelled to bear testimony to the beneficial change which has been produced on the nation. One of these had lately visited the Indian village near Buffalo, where part of the remains of the Five Nations[6] are collected,—once a powerful confeder-

[6] The Five Nations were the Mohawks, Oneydas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senecas. The Tuscaroras appear to have afterwards become a party to the league. At the village referred to, the Senecas are the most numerous, and it is in consequence generally called the Seneca village. The introduction of christianity among them has been frequently attempted, but Red-Jacket, a chief of great influence, has hitherto successfully resisted it. The village is noted for idleness and dissipation. Passing through Buffalo I saw several Senecas begging in the streets; and on the Sabbath morning, before I left Lewiston for the Tuscarora village, two of them came to the door of the tavern at which I lodged wanting rum. I asked them to what nation they belonged, afraid that they might be Tuscaroras; they answered "Senecas." I told them rum was very bad for them. "No," said one of them laughing, "good, very good." They went away however without obtaining it. By a New York newspaper which has lately reached me, I observe, that in the spring of 1819, a

acy, possessing unlimited sway along the l
of lake Erie and lake Ontario, the Mohawk
the Hudson,—now a broken and spiritless
nant. The Tuscarora chief, on returning h
confessed to Mr. Crane that he was astonish
the difference between the people of the tw
lages; the one sober, industrious, and hap
the other idle, drunken, and miserable.
change at home had been so gradual, that he
scarcely marked its progress, or thought o
cause.

Mr. Crane has been several times applied t
tradesmen in the neighbourhood, who had all
some of the Indians to get into their debt, bu
said that he never interfered unless the indivi
complained of was a member of the church.

new Council Fire solemnly decided against the introducti
christianity. The editor adds, "this remnant of the Five N
will not exist much longer; none ever decreased with so
rapidity."

It was from this village that the men were brought, who ap
in 1818 and 1819 in most of the British theatres, exhibiting
war-dances. I have learned since the above note was written
some benevolent individuals in England gave each of them I
before their return to their native country, and attempted to
municate to them some religious instruction. This has not been
out its effect; for a meeting for social worship every Sabbath ha
been established in the Seneca village, under the care of an Am
teacher who is settled there, and either two or three of the Ir
who visited Britain are regular in their attendance. A lett
thanks, dictated by them, to their benefactors in England, ha
peared in some of the religious periodical publications. (1822.)

f the Indians had ordered a waggon from a carenter in Lewiston, at a stipulated price; but before it was delivered, a New England merchant had come to the village who offered to sell him one for a smaller sum, and got him persuaded to purchase it. The carpenter soon after informed him that the waggon was ready, and that he wished payment of it. The Indian said that he had been provided at a lower price, and did not now want it. On Mr. Crane's being applied to, he tried to explain to the Indian the nature of a bargain, and its obligation upon both parties. The Indian admitted the engagement, but thought that his having obtained a waggon cheaper, proved that the carpenter had tried to overreach him, and was therefore not entitled, according to the principles of Indian jurisprudence, to insist on his taking the waggon. All that Mr. Crane said, failed in convincing the Indian of the carpenter's right to force the waggon upon him, but being perfectly persuaded that Mr. Crane would not wrong one of his red brethren, and that he knew best what was consistent with the laws of white men, he took the waggon, for which he had no use, and paid the stipulated price, forty dollars.

This conduct will appear the more honourable in the Indian when it is understood, that a white man has no recourse at law against an Indian for debt, although an Indian may prosecute a white. A wise and most humane regulation.

In the course of the afternoon, Kusick the inter-

preter entered the room, accompanied by one o the shabbiest and dirtiest of the Tuscaroras that had yet seen. Kusick and I were introduced t each other, while the poor looking fellow seated him self at the back of the door, and placing his hand on his knees hung his head in silence. Mr. Cran informed me that he was one of the few topers wh were still to be found in the tribe, and that th occasion of his present visit was to ask pardon fo a piece of rudeness, of which he had been guilty when last intoxicated. He had gone to Lewisto on a sabbath morning, and continued drinking dur ing the whole of the day. Staggering home nex forenoon, he met Mr. and Mrs. Crane in a one horse waggon, and, whether in kindness or mischief they could not tell, Thomas, for so he was called, caught hold of the bridle, and turned the horse so suddenly round that the waggon was upset. Happily both the inmates escaped without injury. Thomas went home, too much intoxicated to recollect what he had done; but some of the chiefs heard of it, and when he was sober told him that it was necessary he should go to Mr. and Mrs. Crane and ask pardon for his misconduct.

Kusick was again the medium of communication. Thomas in very humble terms expressed much regret for what he had done; he said he was not his own master when he did it, for he loved Mr. and Mrs. Crane sincerely, and would not on any account intentionally injure them. He concluded by beg-

ging to be forgiven, and promised that he would never so offend again.

Mr. Crane assured Thomas, that neither Mrs. Crane nor he felt the slightest degree of resentment for his upsetting the waggon, as they were convinced that he had no intention of doing so; but said that he could not but be displeased with him for indulging in spirituous liquors, after having been so frequently warned of their pernicious effects. He reminded him that the hair on his head was gray, and that in a few short years, at most, he must appear before the Great Spirit, who had said that drunkards should not enter into the kingdom of heaven. He counselled him to abstain for the future from wicked associates, and to listen to the instruction which the word of God contained.

Thomas received the admonition with silent attention, and promised to abstain henceforth from rum and bad company. Mr. Crane assured him of his forgiveness, and poor Thomas was received again into favour,

Kusick the interpreter I found to be a shrewd and intelligent man. He had fought in the revolutionary war, with a lieutenant's commission from the United States; and a lame knee, the consequence of ague and excessive fatigue, bore testimony to the hardships which he had undergone. He showed me a copy of the gospel by John in the Mohawk language, translated by Captain Brandt, a chief whom Campbell has consigned to no honourable

fame in his Gertrude of Wyoming. While his evil deeds are so lastingly recorded, let not his more deserving ones be passed over in silence.[7] Kusick was also possessed of a copy of the gospel by Luke, translated into the same language by Captain Norton, an Indian chief who is living in upper Canada. The Mohawk language he told me though different from the Tuscarora, was so far allied to it that they could without much difficulty make use of these translations, which were indeed all that they possessed.

Evening was now advancing, and I was under the necessity of taking leave. Mr. and Mrs. Crane strongly urged me to remain with them till the following day, but this I could not with propriety do. I shook hands with my kind entertainers, with William and Nancy, Kusick and the other Indians, including poor Thomas, and with feelings of a very peculiar kind, I left Mr. Crane's house to see this interesting group no more. Many kind invitations were showered upon me, by white and red, to repeat my visit, but in all probability we shall never meet again in this world. My acquaintance with them has been that of a day, but years will not efface its traces from my memory; and often as I remember the Tuscarora Indians, it will be with warmest wishes for their happiness, and that of all who take an interest in them.

[7] I am, after all, not certain whether this translation is the work of the elder Brandt, who is now dead, or of his son who is still living.

What I have seen and heard among the Tuscarora Indians, confirms to the utmost what I have long believed, that it is folly and worse than folly, to talk of the impossibility of civilizing the North American aborigines. It is a matter of shame to intelligent men, that such assertions should ever have been made. That it may be difficult to carry it into full effect I readily grant, but the principal obstacles which exist, have arisen from the unprincipled conduct of the white traders; many of whom, if morality were the standard of our determination, are much better entitled to the appellation of *savages* than the poor despised Indians.

Since the period when Europeans first set foot in the western continent, their conduct towards the Indians has been with few exceptions, for there have been a few,[8] a combination of deceit, rapacity, and cruelty, too atrocious to be characterized by any ordinary epithet of aggravation. They found a few thousands of naked men in peaceful possession of

[8] Penn's conduct towards the Indians was as remarkable for kindness, honour, and good faith, as that of others had been the reverse; Brother *Miquon*, as they translated Penn, and his friendly *quekels*, were long spoken of by the remains of the Delawares, in terms of enthusiastic regard. When war between the Indians and whites was raging in Pennsylvania, the quaker habit was a protection in every Indian camp, and the unarmed wearer experienced a friendly welcome in every wigwam. The history of this settlement, and some others, completely proves that the Indians were not insensible to kindness on the part of the whites; but on the contrary, that whenever they were honourably treated they made as honourable a return.

immense tracts of fertile ground, watered by vast lakes and navigable rivers; they cast their covetous eyes upon the immense continent, and at last, by fraud and intrigue, succeeded in acquiring possession of nearly the whole, and in almost entirely extirpating the race by which it had been peopled.

It would be a long and a heart rending tale, to recount the various circumstances under which this has been accomplished; but features of general resemblance pervade them all. The white men were strong—the red men were weak; the white men were crafty and designing—the red men open and unsuspicious; the white men wanted the land—the red men were obliged to let them have it. Rum, powder, and the bayonet, were the efficient agents in completing the change. The Indians were instigated to mutual havoc and massacre, and the whites completed what they began. The dispirited remnants of the scattered tribes became the slaves of drunkenness and sloth; and the land which was yet left them, they were easily persuaded to exchange for intoxicating liquors, or whatever else their spoilers chose to give. "Finally," said the Indian chief, "they drove us back from time to time into the wilderness, far from the water, and the fish, and the oysters. They have destroyed the game; our people have wasted away; and now we live miserable and wretched, while they are enjoying our fine and beautiful country."

After Europeans had thus plundered them of their territory—debased, and almost exterminated their race—to fill up the measure of their cruelty, they slandered their character with every possible misrepresentation, till the Indians of North America are regarded, by most European nations, as the very abstraction and condensation of all that is hateful in human nature;—men whom it is perfectly impossible to reclaim from barbarism, and who may therefore be consigned to destruction, without the slighest injustice, and without any cause for remorse, completely blotted from the catalogue of living creatures.[9]

[9] I regret most sincerely to observe, that an American journal of the first respectability, has adopted and defended this most revolting, I must add, most audacious doctrine; respect for the general character of the publication prompts me to suppress its title. In an article contained in the number for July 1820, after rapidly glancing at the past and present condition of the Indians, and after discussing the question as to the right of Europeans to dispossess them of their land, the writer boldly advances as corollaries to his reasonings, that the Indians cannot be civilized, and that it is folly to attempt it. "It is tolerably well ascertained," says he, "that they cannot support the neighbourhood of civilization. Foreign and ignorant judges may sneer at this, but it is a simple fact ascertained by experience. To take measures to preserve the Indians, is to take measures to preserve so much barbarity, helplessness, and want, to the exclusion of so much industry and thriftiness.——The object of true humanity is, not blindly to better the condition of a given individual, whether he will be bettered or not, but to put a happier individual in the place of a less happy one. If it can be done by changing the nature of the latter, it is well; if it cannot, leave him to the operation of his character and habits; do not resist the order of providence which is carrying him away, and when he

One of the principal arguments, if such it can be called, by which some have sought to prove their incapacity for civilization, is the circumstance of their having so rapidly melted away before the encroachments of the whites, and having so seldom become incorporated with their invaders. But any other result, must have been almost miraculous. Let it be recollected that the whites, not contented with destroying themselves as many as they could, took every opportunity of artfully instigating war between one tribe and another; and that on every occasion on which the various European settlers themselves fell out and fought,

is gone, a civilized man will step into his place and your end is attained."

Although foreign judges are here not solely as necessarily ignorant ones, the intervention of the Atlantic does not prevent the same journal from often writing, and that with great justice and good sense, on European affairs. I cannot see why we may not, with equal justice, express our opinion on matters which concern the western continent. To endeavour to reclaim the Indians from drunkenness and vice, may be by some esteemed 'opposition to the order of providence;'—would that there were more men so to oppose it! Be it more and more the distinction of christians, that they unite heart and hand to remove ignorance and oppose vice, wherever they are found and under whatever shape;—that they visit the despised heathens of every country with the Bible in their hands and words of brotherly kindness on their lips, and that they earnestly strive to raise them, from a condition worse than that of the brute, to 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Why is a poor Indian thought incapable of that mental reservation, which has been experienced by Hindoos, Tahitians, Greenlanders, and Hottentots? what is there in his blood or in his brain, that he is thus branded with proscription, and consigned unpitied, to degradation here, and

each party collected to its aid multitudes of Indian warriors, to be food for the weapons of their destructive warfare. In the contests between the French and British colonists, in the revolutionary war, and in the recent unhappy renewal of hostilities, the Indians were, without reason or pity, involved in contests in which they were no way interested, and crushed between the two contending powers, like grain between the millstones. Rancorous hatred to the whites and to each other, has been promoted in every possible way; spirituous liquors copiously administered for the basest of purposes; immorality of every kind eagerly promoted, loath-

destruction hereafter? Where were the progenitors of this enlightened writer when Cæsar landed on the shores of England? What redeeming peculiarity was found in their painted skins, which marked the race capable of such ultimate illumination? Alas for the poor Indians!—left to Jackson in time of war, to backwoods men and fur-traders in time of peace, and to cold blooded philosophers for their future prospects! "No personal injustice should be tolerated," says this writer, "but do not resist the order of providence which is carrying him away!"

"Ah what is man! And what man *reading* this,
And having human feelings, does not blush,
And hang his head to think himself a man!"

The following affecting little sketch, which the same writer almost immediately subjoins, is characterized by the same lamentable unfeelingness; but may be regarded as an enemy's testimony, to the harmlessness and honesty of these poor persecuted outcasts.

"A small party of Indians was lately, and is perhaps now, wandering in our neighbourhood. One might easily have mistaken them for gypsies, but for the shade of copper colour, instead of the

some and hitherto unknown diseases propagated; instruction of every kind withheld from them; and yet in the face of all this, we are called upon to hold up our hands like simpletons, and wonder that the Indians have disappeared![10]

Let the system be reversed, and reason and experience coincide, in encouraging us to hope for a different result. It is indeed but little that we can do, to atone to the survivors for the injuries

dark olive, in their complexions. Their party of six or eight consisted of three generations, of whom the two first retained a little acquaintance with their native Indian dialect, which in the third was lost. They did not appear to share the quality which is said to sit deep in gypsy blood, that of mistaking their neighbour's hen roost for their own. Whether they would have been able to hold fast their integrity, through the tempting season of June—eating, and early Catharine pears, we cannot undertake to say. While they honoured us with their presence, they led a mighty honest life of basket weaving; and it was no unpleasant sight in the evening, to see the red flames and the heavy smoke curling up round a comfortable iron pot, which they understood how to keep boiling as well as their neighbours. Neither can they be said to have been devoid of taste; for they took up their abode on about the pleasantest spot which the district contains, and added by their romantic encampment a new beauty to Jamaica Pond; of a kind we suppose not wholly to the taste of the neighbouring municipality, who soon approved their descent from the pilgrims, and after a lapse of two or three weeks, drove out these heathens without further ceremony."

[10] I should have been glad could I have alluded to these enormities only as 'a tale of other times,' but the conduct of some of the American officers in the recent contests with the Creeks and the Seminoles was to the last degree inhuman. Their official despatches avow, that villages were surrounded at midnight, and the

which their race has suffered at our hands, but let us at least try to do what we can. Let us do for all the surviving nations, what has been begun to be done for the Tuscaroras. They are groping in darkness—let us give them in their own languages the light of Divine truth; they are idle—let us present them with inducements to industry; they have been cut off from the chase—let us give

inhabitants slaughtered with such indiscriminate fury, that even women and children perished in the assault.

It must however be mentioned, that the United States have passed several laws to mitigate, as much as possible, the wretchedness of the scattered remnants of the Indians. They have given legislative encouragement to missionaries and teachers to settle among them; they have also prohibited private individuals from purchasing their land, thus saving them from the cupidity and fraud of unprincipled speculators. All sales must now be made to the agents of government, and they are conducted with probably as much fairness as will ever be found, in bargains where the one party has no choice but to take whatever the other is pleased to give;—"acres for beads and penknives," says an intelligent American writer, "provinces for blankets, and empires for powder, ball, and rum!—A heavy reckoning rests on the heads of the civilized communities in America, for their cruel treatment of the American aborigines, and of the not less injured Africans." "They say that they have bought the land," exclaims Mr. Wirt, the present Attorney General of the United States, "bought it! Yes; of whom? Of the poor trembling natives, who knew that refusal would be in vain; and who strove to make a merit of necessity, by seeming to yield with grace, what they knew they had not the power to retain. Such a bargain may appease the conscience of a gentleman of the green bag, worn and hackneyed in the arts and frauds of his profession; but in Heaven's chancery, there can be little doubt that it has been long since set aside on the ground of duress." *Letters of the British Spy, 7th edit. p.* 78.

them a knowledge of the useful arts; they are spiritless and disheartened—let us cheer them with the hope of present comfort and future happiness; let the use of ardent spirits be by every possible means discouraged; let them be protected from the unprincipled artifices of those, with whom a desire for gain obliterates every consideration of moral duty; along with all let them be offered the hand of disinterested friendship and sincere brotherly kindness, and there is not a doubt but that they will grasp and press it to their heart. Let the rising generation receive the unappreciable benefits of early education, mechanical, literary, and religious; and let no one question the truth of what the wise man said, of 'training up a child in the way he should go.' The moral waste will then assume an aspect of culture and fertility; confusion will give place to order, sloth to industry, misery to happiness, and, as the glorious consummation of all, on the red Indians of North America, 'the sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing under his wings.'

Within these few years the history, languages, and religion,[11] of these scattered tribes, have begun

[11] What is here communicated respecting the languages and religion of the Indian tribes relates to those who lived eastward of the Mississippi, and chiefly to the Lenapé or Delawares. My principal authority is the very interesting work of Mr. John Heckewelder, of the Moravian settlement of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, who has spent the greater part of a pretty long life as a missionary among the Indians; and whose work is characterized throughout with candour

to attract the attention of men of enlarged and cultivated minds, and many facts have been disclosed which well deserve the attention of reflecting men. The limits of this letter, necessarily preclude my entering minutely upon topics, which would require each a separate essay of considerable length, I shall therefore be brief and general in the following sketch.[12]

Whence America was peopled, has long been a knotty point with writers on the history of man, and if Robertson has not satisfactorily solved it, the probability is that it never will be solved. There is every reason, however, to believe that the

discrimination and good sense. His account is contained in the 'Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia. Vol. I. Phil. 1819.' To the same work, and the authorities there quoted, I refer for ample confirmation of all that I have stated on Indian character and customs. A judicious view of the religious opinions of the Indians, with some particulars as to their language, is contained in a 'Discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society, December, 20th, 1819,' by Dr. Jarvis, an Episcopalian clergyman. The late Dr. Boudinot's 'Star in the West' is also a work which satisfactorily supports many of the statements of other writers; although it seems impossible to coincide in the amiable author's favourite hypothesis, that the Indians were the representatives of the ten tribes of Israel; an idea first suggested by Adair.

[12] A particular account of these antiquities will be found in Dr. Harris's 'Tour to the country northwest of the Alleghany mountains, Boston 1805,' and in the first volume of 'Archæologia Americana, Worcester Mas: 1820.' A comprehensive view of the latter volume is contained in the North American Review, No. XXXI. p. 225.

present Indians are at least the second distinct race, which has existed on what are now the territories of the United States. In the State of Ohio and its neighbourhood, remains have been discovered of extensive artificial mounds, on which it seems to be satisfactorily ascertained that the third successive growth of timber is more than four hundred years old. These works are constructed in the most systematic manner; and consist principally of circles, squares, and octagons, provided with openings for gates at regular intervals, and occasionally connected with each other by long passages similarly intrenched. The surface enclosed, varies in extent from one to a hundred acres; the walls are from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter at the base, and taper gradually to a proportionate height. Ditches, outer lines of circumvallation, and other characteristics of defensive works are plainly discernible. Some circular tumuli within those works have been opened, and found to contain human bones of various sizes. In others have been discovered fragments of armour, composed of copper overlaid with silver and attached by rivets to pieces of leather; fragments of copper tubes filled with iron rust, copper spear heads, bricks, urns of baked clay, stone axes of various kinds, articles for domestic purposes, and rude imitations in stone of the human bust.

That these earthen fortifications are not the work of the Indians, is proved by these articles which have

been discovered; for till the arrival of Europeans among them, they were utterly unacquainted with metals, they had no idea of bricks, or imitations in stone of the human figure. The bones also which have been excavated belong to a different race of men; the fascial angle of the cranium is much smaller, and the whole skeleton shorter and thicker. The Indians, besides, know nothing of these works; nor have they any tradition respecting them, which would doubtless not have been wanting had they been the work of their own ancestors. It does not even appear that they ever avail themselves of them, either for one purpose or another. Although philosophers, therefore, had come to an agreement respecting the origin of the Indians, they would have 'yet a harder task to prove,' in exploring to us the history and the fate, of this race which has gone before them.

Among the Indians who formerly peopled that part of the continent which lies east of the Mississippi, three languages appear to have been spoken, radically different from each other. At least all the dialects, of which any vestiges survive, have been satisfactorily traced to one or other of three great sources; among which as yet no affinity has been detected, except that of a somewhat similar grammatical structure. We should probably err, however, were we to decide that these nations were not originally of a common origin. They were unacquainted with letters, and their languages were

therefore liable to perpetual change; and as it is but lately that these supposed primitive tongues have been reduced to so small a number, it seems not improbable that farther investigation may limit them yet more.

These languages have been called the Iroquois, the Lenapé, and the Floridian. The first is the origin of the dialects spoken by the Six Nations, to which I have already alluded, and other tribes formerly existing north of the St. Lawrence. The second was spoken by the Delawares and others, once occupying the greater part of the interior of the United States. The third is spoken by the Creeks, and others in the southern States, and Florida.

The Lenapé tongue appears to have prevailed much more extensively than either of the others, and was, so far as we yet know, much more copious and systematic. Its grammatical system is highly artificial, and disappoints completely every *a priori* idea, which we can have of an unwritten language spoken by roving hunters. In place of the division of nouns into the genders, it recognises only the distinctions of animate and inanimate,[13] and this classification passes also into verbs. It possesses a singular, dual, and two plurals, a particular and a general. In the verb, the variety of moods and tenses appears to have exceeded that of the Greek; and its flexion is modified not only

[13] It is worthy of remark that the whole of the vegetable world belongs to the first class, except *annuals* and *grasses*.

by pronominal prefixes and affixes, as in the Hebrew, but also by others having an adverbial and conjunctive power. The verb enters besides into combination with nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, with a facility unknown in European languages, so that a very complicated idea which in modern languages would require a circumlocution, is intelligibly condensed in the Lenapé into a single word, expressive of person, action, time, place, and circumstance. From this characteristic of the Indian languages, for it extends throughout them all, an American writer has given them the very appropriate epithet of *polysynthetic.*

The language of the Iroquois is thought to exist in its purest state in the Mohawk dialect. The other five nations readily understand what is written in the Mohawk, although each individually has a different tongue. The Iroquois seems not to have been so critically analyzed as the Lenapé, but so far as has been yet ascertained, it corresponds in most of its grammatical peculiarities, particularly that of being polysynthetic. It recognizes, however, the distinction of masculine and feminine in nouns.

The Floridian is less known than either of the others, and with regard to those dialects prevalent to the westward of the Mississippi, there seems to exist no certain information.

The earlier accounts which we have of the religion of the Indians, are fabulous and inconsistent.

When the Red men discovered the true character of those who had come among them, they gave them the epithet of 'the accursed people,' and soon, as if by common consent, refused to communicate any information which it was in their power to withhold. On the subject of their religious worship they were particularly jealous of research, and in nothing did they appear so determined to baffle and mislead the curious enquirer. It was not therefore till missionaries had resided long among them, and completely acquired their confidence, that they were able to penetrate into their religious system, and unravel the contradictions of early travellers.

The Indian's creed is remarkably simple, and there is nothing connected with their singular character, which so much elevates them above the heathens of every other age and country. The theology of ancient Egypt, even in the mouths of Greeks and Romans, was proverbial for its absurdity; while that of its satirists, after being to the utmost softened down and allegorized by its apologists, remains only a striking illustration of the truth of the divine record, "the world by wisdom knew not God." The superstitions of Eastern India, which have in our day excited considerable investigation, seem to be, in barbarity and impurity, the very concentration of Satanic influence. Contrasted with any, or all of these, the superstitions of the poor Indians of North America, people without an al-

phabet, and, if we will believe some philosophers, without an idea, are distinguished by a degree of simplicity and humanity, which is in no slight degree worthy of our admiration.

The unity of God seems to be in a singular degree recognized in the Indian's mind; that God also is a Spirit, and not to be represented by any visible symbol, is to the fullest extent believed and acted upon. In these two particulars, the religion of the Indian tribes leaves at an unmeasured distance the pantheons of antiquity. Their prayers and adoration are offered to the Good Manitou, or Great Spirit, whom they regard as the supreme creator and preserver of the universe, to whom all things animate and inanimate are completely and perpetually subject; and in their conceptions of him, he is invested with every attribute of perfection and benevolence of which they are able to conceive.

Though however they thus in some measure recognize the unity and spirituality of the supreme God, they believe that he has committed to a number of inferior deities the administration of worldly affairs; and more particularly that to each person a tutelary spirit or genius is assigned, to guide and protect him. To these inferior spirits they address a kind of subordinate worship, propitiating their favour by sacrifice; but they at the same time affirm that the Great Spirit is the ultimate object of these prayers and offerings.

Besides these inferior spirits, which they regard

as benevolent in their dispositions, they believ another class, who are decidedly evil in their incli tions and influence. Over them they suppose of superior power to preside, whom they regard way of eminence as the Evil Manitou. They c sider him however, and all his agents, as comple under the control of the Great Spirit.

Connected with this creed they have a ritual, which they were accustomed in former times m rigidly to adhere. They had various seasons public rejoicing and thanksgiving, for instance harvest, and the hunting season; at these the a men of the tribe officiated as priests. They l also private religious services, at which the fat of the family presided.

They have also among them a class of n whom they regard as prophets or diviners, v are supposed to be possessed of supernatu powers, and capable of prognosticating and p tially controlling future events. Their belief the power of these men is perhaps the weal point in their character. The denunciation o prophet operates so powerfully on an Indi fears, that his mental energies are comple paralyzed; and as many a prophecy has led its own accomplishment, so the evil which diviners threaten has often, through the very ter of it, actually come to pass.

The Indians were formerly accustomed to p particular attention to the instruction of th

children. From their earliest years they inculcated on them a belief in the superintending providence of the Great Spirit, and instructed them to address themselves to him in prayer and thanksgiving. Before boys are allowed to go out to war, or to hunt, they are subjected to a particular initiatory ceremony, during which it is supposed that the symbol of the genius or spirit, under whose superintendence they are placed, is revealed to them. This ceremony is connected with a course of fasting and discipline, which continues for several days; and it is no wonder that superstitious ideas are excited, during the mental and corporeal exhaustion produced by a continued course of severe penance.

This is a rapid, and of course imperfect sketch, of the Indian theological system. Erroneous as it is, it is not difficult to trace in it the remains of a purer creed. It seems scarcely possible that the progenitors of the Indians, whoever they may have been, could be idolaters. It seems far more probable, that their theological system had its origin in the obscured traditions received from patriarchal times. If so, we may regard the Great Spirit, as the God who preserved Noah from the waters of the deluge; and the inferior benevolent spirits, as the surviving recollections of those ministering angels, who were so frequently sent in early times to hold personal converse with the children of God. Those of a malevolent disposition

and evil influence, are at once identified wi
apostate spirits, who under their great
wage a yet unceasing war, with all that ac
ledge, allegiance to God; and their subc
tion to the Great Spirit corresponds wi
revealed truth, that they are "held in ch
the judgment of the great day." Sacrific
oblation, with a public and private pries
carry us back to a once pure worship; a
prophets who now delude and destroy the
beyond doubt the traditionary descendants o
who were "prophets indeed." The care
struction of their children in devotion to the
Spirit, commemorates the care which "the fi
took to preserve alive in their families the
ledge of the true God.

We can scarcely I think contemplate tl
gular features of coincidence in the relig
Noah, and that of the poor Indians, with
teeming it exceedingly probable that their rac
have been an offset from his, before idolat
gained a footing among his children But
all, how little is it that we can ascertain?—v
calculate the probability of one hypothesis, a
trasted with the improbability of another;
beyond this is shrouded in darkness. Thei
ent condition and future prospects more i
ously demand our attention; and so far
efforts are available in their behalf, reason a
ligion alike demand that they should not bc

held. We are not responsible for their former condition; for their present, and future, we are. If we would wish to save this interesting race from utter extinction, let us immediately rouse ourselves in their behalf. Experience tells us, that what has been, may be; and if ten Indians have been rescued from dissipation and wretchedness, through the knowledge of the word of God, we are entitled to believe that ten thousand may yet follow them. There are some who will scoff at such an idea; but did they regard the voice of inspiration, we could tell them—"not by might, nor by power, but my my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."[14]

[14] Just as this sheet was preparing for press, I had the high gratification of an interview with Mr. John D. Hunter, whose narrative of a captivity among the Indians, from infancy till he was about nineteen years of age, has recently been published. The tribes among whom he spent his youth, live to the westward of the Mississippi, and some of their customs differ from those of the Lenapé nation; in the more essential features however of their religious belief, and social system, there is a decided and very remarkable coincidence.

No one who is acquainted with Mr. Hunter's history, can enter into conversation with him, without being astonished at the extent of his information, and the vigour of his mind. He stands in a very singular relation both to whites and to Indians; he has probably more in his power than ever a white man had, to promote a beneficial change on the condition of the surviving aborigines; and we cannot help cherishing a hope, that much is to be effected through his instrumentality. See "*Memoirs of a captivity among the Indians of North America, &c. by John D. Hunter. London, Longman & Co.* 1823."

LETTER XV.

LETTER XV.

NIAGARA TOWN—FORT GEORGE—FORT NIAGARA—THE KALEIDOSCOPE—JAIL—LAKE ONTARIO—YORK—KINGSTON — NAVY YARD—EVENTS OF LAST WAR—BANK—DURHAM BOATS AND BATTEAUX—LAKE OF A THOUSAND ISLES—CANADIAN BOAT SONGS—FARM HOUSE— PRESCOTT — OGDENSBURGH—PASSAGE DOWN THE RAPIDS—LONG SAULT—TIMBER RAFTS—LAKE ST. FRANCIS—NARRATIVE OF A SHIPWRECK—PILOT—RAPIDS OF COTEAU DE LAC—CEDARS—SPLIT ROCK— CASCADES — LAKE ST. LOUIS — LA CHINE — CALASH — MONTREAL.

Montreal, November, 1818.

NIAGARA, the little town from which my last two letters were dated, is built upon the British side of the river, close by its entrance into Lake Ontario. Map-makers and travellers persist in calling it Newark, but that name is not acknowledged by the inhabitants. Fort George, a turf intrenchment of considerable extent, garrisoned at present by part of the 70th regiment, stands close by the town. During last war it was captured by the Americans and held for a considerable time. Niagara enjoys an excellent situation for commerce, but the inhabitants have not yet recovered from the vicissitudes of th elate struggle.

On the opposite bank of the river and close upon

the edge of the lake, is the American garrison of fort Niagara, a stone fortification which was built originally by the French, but which has been considerably improved and strengthened, particularly since the conclusion of last war. After the British had recovered Fort George, they crossed the river and carried Fort Niagara by assault, and kept possession of it till the peace. At present its republican owners are busily employed in improving their defences, particularly towards the lake, where a strong breast-work is thrown up to resist the encroachment of the water, which was threatening to undermine the whole fabric.

Travellers have said that Fort Niagara is lower than Fort George, and commanded by its fire, but the very reverse is the case; no part of the American fort is under the level of the British one, but most of it considerably above it. It is said that our government has in consequence determined to level the present works, and erect a strong fort closer to the lake; where there is already a small one called fort Mississaga.

An accidental introduction to one of the American officers procured me an invitation to dine at fort Niagara. A fortress must be a dull place in the time of peace, and I could not help pitying the young men who are cooped up here, with little else to do than change guard and call the muster roll. A friendly intercourse with the officers on the opposite side of the river would be useful and

pleasant to both parties; but I thought that some incidental remarks implied a want of this.

The Kaleidoscope became a topic of conversation after dinner; the first which has been seen in fort Niagara produced a prodigious sensation in the garrison. A private soldier had brought one from New York, where they are sold at a very cheap rate; the officers after gazing through it for hours, vainly endeavouring to guess at a theory which could account for its singular phenomena, prevailed on the soldier to sell it to them for ten dollars, forty five shillings sterling, that they might have it dissected. Probably it did not cost the soldier more than a tenth part of the sum, but they knew not how to value an instrument containing gems of such singular beauty and variety. The bargain was no sooner concluded than all crowded round a table, to explore the interior of the magical tin tube, their curiosity wound up to the highest state of breathlessness—but what was their astonishment, on the ends being taken off, to see that nothing came out but a few beads and pieces of broken glass! They had an opportunity soon after of showing it to an Indian; and as some compensation for their own disappointment, they had the pleasure of seeing him turn it round and round for nearly a whole day, wondering when it would get back again to the figures which he had first seen.

Niagara is possessed of a court house and jail;

both under the same roof. The jail is on the lower floor. The cells, both for criminals and debtors surround and open from the hall, which leads to the court room, and the guilty or unfortunate inmates are exposed to the gaze of every one, whom curiosity or idleness induces to enter. The partitions and doors of the various cells are composed of strong pieces of oak firmly bolted together; the doors are about nine inches thick, consisting of two thicknesses of wood with sheet iron between them. Some of the debtors' apartments have a small window to the the outside, but the criminals have no light but from a small semicircular opening in the door. The debtors have fire places, but the criminals have only the miserable comfort of looking out at a stove in the middle of the hall, from which no perceptible warmth can reach their dismal abodes. It must be truly dreadful to pass a Canadian winter in such a place. How miserably does this prison contrast with those in the United States!

I did not spend a sabbath in Niagara, and therefore can give no account of the theology which emanates from the single church of which it is possessed; but I fear much that it is of a lifeless kind. I was informed however that a sabbath school was about to be attempted;—all good attend it.

A large three masted steam boat, called the Frontenac, now navigates lake Ontario, but neither on this nor the former occasion did her time of sailing suit me. In May I made my passage in a

chooner, which conveyed me in two days and a alf to Prescott, sixty seven miles below Kingston; nd on the present occasion I availed myself of one which touched at York, the capital of the upper province, thirty six miles from Niagara, and then landed me at Kingston about 120 miles below.

Lake Ontario is nearly 170 miles long, and at the widest part about 60 miles broad. Its depth varies from 3 to 50 fathoms, except about the middle, where it is said that no bottom has been found even with 300 fathoms of line. Though a fresh water lake, its navigation requires almost all the precautions which are necessary at sea. The helmsman steers by the compass, and in his Majesty's vessels the log is regularly thrown. Lake Ontario is liable to sudden and violent storms, and though I happily escaped sharing in any thing that deserved that appellation, yet the swell was very great, and I became as thoroughly sea sick as if I had been on the Atlantic. We were out of sight of land for more than twenty four hours, although going for a considerable time at the rate of seven knots.

I had intended to disembark and spend a day or two at York, but the town was so completely filled with the retainers of the two rival fur companies, that I could not obtain lodgings. A trial was about to take place, of some individuals in the employment of the North-West Company, for alleged outrages on some of Lord Selkirk's people, nd each party had mustered a host of agents and

voyageurs, to support by their evidence the ca their masters. The appearance of York o occasion strongly suggested what is relat Edinburgh, when the rival barons and the lowings used to beard the monarch in his ca and when the brawls of half civilized mountai endangered the lives of the citizens. A ver ling collision between two of these cano might have been no less perilous to the in tants of York; for in the remote regions which they come, no law is known but that club or the knife, and no Highland clans hold each other more at feud, than the com do each other.

Probably I lost little by failing to obtain ings at York, for after rambling about for an

I believe that I left little unvisited except the garrison. The town consists of one street lying parallel to the lake, and of the beginnings of two or three more at right angles to it. I saw only one church, which had been very much out of repair, but some workmen were employed in putting glass into the windows. The garrison is to the right of the town, and consists of a barrack flanked by a battery and two block houses; they are all of white-washed wood, and have a showy appearance from the water. The harbour of York might be a good one if a well sheltered bay were all that were necessary to form it, but the entrance is narrow and difficult, and in time of war it is completely defenceless.

The burning of York by the Americans during last war, with the public buildings, was the ostensible justification of our conduct at Washington. It certainly sounds like a matter of importance when we hear of the CAPITAL OF UPPER CANADA being destroyed, and the buildings appropriated to the TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT; but when the Capital is found to contain little more than a single small street, and the Parliament house is discovered to have been only a wooden one, the transition is something like that from the sublime to the ridiculous. The conduct of the Americans at York and Niagara cannot be defended—the system was a most savage one, and to them belongs the disgrace of having begun it, but let us know the

real extent of their outrage, and while we rea that they burned York and Niagara, let us no forget that we retaliated by burning Lewiston and Buffalo, long before the attack on Washington was projected.

After lying at anchor for the night, we next morning worked out of York bay, and made sail for Kingston, where we arrived the following day about one o'clock.

Kingston enjoys a favourable position both fo commercial and warlike operations. It stands a

the lower end of lake Ontario, where the waters contract into the commencement of the St. Lawrence; and it is the great concentrating point of intercourse between the upper and lower provinces. The natural advantages of the position have been greatly strengthened by fortifications; the harbour is deep, safe, and commodious, and although York enjoys the rank of the capital, and the presence of the legislature, Kingston will ever be the head quarters of all relating to military, naval, and commercial affairs. Its appearance from the water is very imposing. The town extends about three quarters of a mile, along a point of land at the narrow entrance to a small bay; a peninsula intervenes between this and a second little bay, beyond which is a corresponding projection on the opposite shore.

Within the entrance to the larger bay is the harbour of the town, which is generally crowded with schooners, Durham boats, and batteaux. The intermediate peninsula is occupied by the dock-yard, where the frames of two 74 gun ships are seen on the stocks, and beyond them piles of heavy cannon, gun carriages, and shot, with an armoury and various buildings connected with the naval department. In the basin which succeeds, are six or eight ships of war, dismantled and laid up; among which are, one of 102 guns, two frigates of 50, and one of 36. On the brow of the projecting point below this basin, is a strong fort, from

whose battlements the British colours are displayed. Smaller batteries line the shore in front of the dock-yard and the town, and contribute not a little to the gallant bearing which the settlement exhibits.

Kingston is built partly of dark stone, and partly of wood. The wooden houses predominate, but there are enough of the others to give the town a character decidedly different from that which prevails among those in the United States. Its public buildings consist of a Government and Court House, an Episcopalian and a Romish church, with a market house, jail, and hospital. The inn at which I lodged was a most comfortable one; and in its internal management, the same system prevailed with which travellers are familiar at home.

Finding little to interest me in the town, I crossed by a ferry-boat to the navy-yard. Following a path from the shore I reached a large gate, over which G. R. appeared, in the well known double cypher which was borne, a few years ago, on the front of the soldiers' caps. Two officers, one naval the other military, were walking near it, and on requesting permission to enter, they introduced me to a more elderly gentleman who came up at the moment, and who they informed me was the master-builder. 'To what country do you belong?' said the old gentleman. 'To Scotland.' 'O then you may enter by all means;—I thought

you might perhaps be from the United States.' 'Your tongue tells where you come from,' said one of the officers, and a sailor was ordered to take me round the yard, and show me every thing that I might wish to see.

The St. Lawrence of 102 guns was built on the spot, principally of pine, and she cost considerably less, my informant assured, than the Psyche of 50 guns, lying beside her, which was sent out in frame from England. The St. Lawrence is built in the American style, without any poop deck, and is so low between decks that I could not stand upright. Though plain however, she is a stout serviceable ship, and gave us the complete command of lake Ontario, which was previously in the hands of the Americans. 'On the day that she got her top-gallant-yards across,' said my conductor, 'the American fleet was opposite the town, but we never saw them more; they were off immediately for Sacketts harbour, and did not venture out again.'

The lake warfare was on our part sadly mismanaged. Frigates were sent out in frame, although to drag the timbers from Montreal to Kingston, cost more money, and consumed more time, than would have sufficed to build them on the spot, from the timber which was to be had for the felling. A large supply of water casks accompanied them, although it was only necessary to drop a bucket alongside, to get up as much water as wanted, and that of an excellent quality. That

things might be consistent throughout, and as if there had been no trees in Canada, an ample store of props and wedges, to be used in building and launching the imported frigates, was landed at Montreal; where they were abandoned, as not worth a twentieth part of what it would have cost, to have dragged them half way to Kingston. A few axes and hands to wield them were all that was needed there, to supply timber, not only for the cradles, but for the ships which were to be launched from them. War is a costly trade, but when its management is characterized by such gross ignorance, or disregard, of the geographical characteristics of the country in which it is carried on, the most lavish expenditure must in general end only in discomfiture and disgrace. Long may it be ere another war takes place between Britain and America; but if it must come, let us hope that our national honour will not again be compromised by sheer ignorance and imbecility.

The building of the two seventy-fours, which are on the stocks, was stopped by the peace. One of them was in the hands of British carpenters, the other of native Canadians, and they were intended to afford a trial of skill between them; I have been told that the preponderance of talent and industry in favour of the British artificers, was by no means very remarkable. These vessels were to have had poop decks, and every other appointment of regular seventy-fours.

The Americans are said to have built their vessels on the lakes with much more expedition than we did. They gave themselves little trouble about smoothing and decorating them, but were content if they were stoutly and speedily put together. I was assured, while going down lake Champlain, that, eleven days before the battle of Plattsburgh, in which Commodore Downie was killed and our squadron captured, the timber which composed the hulls of some of the American vessels was actually growing in the woods.

Except the navy-yard, and the fortifications, which I had not time to visit, there is little to detain a traveller at Kingston. After the dullness of Niagara and York, there is an air of life and activity about it, which makes one feel as if he were getting into the world again. A bank is about to be established, and a meeting took place at the inn in the evening, of a few individuals who were interested in the enterprize, and who had a world of discussion as to the design of their notes. Travellers are prone to hasty decisions; but from the conversation of the committee on the note, which took place openly in the travellers' room, I fear that the principles of banking are but slenderly understood by this new corporation.

Another day or two might have been agreeably spent here, but October was closing upon me, and I feared that frost might set in, which would make travelling both difficult and disagreeable. It was

therefore with pleasure that I learned that some batteaux were to go down the river the following morning, and I did not fail to be at the water side in time to secure a passage by them.

From Kingston to Prescott, 67 miles, the river is navigable by schooners and sloops;[1] but between Prescott and Montreal, a distance of 130 miles, there are numerous rapids which are impassable by any thing larger than a batteau or a Durham boat. On my first descent of the stream, in May, the schooner in which I had sailed from Niagara carried me to Prescott, whence I made my passage in a Durham boat to La Chine, nine miles from Montreal. I was glad therefore to have an opportunity on this occasion, of making trial of a batteau.

The Durham boats of the St. Lawrence are similar to those on the Mohawk. In smooth water they use a sail or oars, but are forced up the rapids by incessant and laborious exertions with the pole. They are generally navigated by natives of the United States. The one in which I sailed in May was, according to the information of the captain, 62 feet in keel, and 11 feet 4 inches in beam; she

[1] Mr. Howison has erroneously stated that sloops and schooners cannot pass between Kingston and Prescott, "in consequence of the rapidity of the current and the obstructions of the channel." I not only sailed in a schooner all the way from lake Ontario to Prescott, but saw plenty of others making the same voyage. See *Howison's Upper Canada, p. 25. first edit.*

carried about 26 tons, and drew only 28 inches water. She had on board about 270 barrels of flour, which sunk her gunwale within a few inches of the water; and to defend us in passing through the rapids, a couple of stout planks, about a foot in breadth, were nailed along the sides; a precaution which, as we afterwards experienced, was no more than needful.

Batteaux are flat bottomed boats, about half the size of the others, tapering to a point at each end, and so substantially constructed that they will endure a great deal of hard knocking on the channel, without danger to the passengers. They do not sink so low in the water as the Durham boats, and are navigated by Canadian *voyageurs*, veterans who have been trained from their youth to the use of the paddle and the setting pole, and who know every channel, rock, and breaker, in the rapids, from the Long Sault to Montreal. If a traveller going down the river has his choice, let him by all means prefer the batteau;[2] it does not sail so fast as a Durham boat, and he may be a day longer in making the passage, but in ordinary cases he is far safer.

Passengers by either of these vessels must take

[2] I understand that a covered boat now navigates the rapids, constructed expressly for the conveyance of passengers, and that steam boats are in preparation to run from Kingston to Prescott, and on lakes St. Francis, and St. Louis. This arrangement will form a very convenient chain of communication between Montreal and lake Ontario. (1821.)

with them a moderate supply of provisions, for it is not customary to go on shore except to sleep; and if the wind is a-head, four or five days may be spent between Kingston and Montreal. Going up the river is a far more tedious process. They should also be well provided, even in summer, with cloaks or other coverings, for the night dews on the river are excessively cold.

The batteau sailed from Kingston with a favourable breeze between ten and eleven in the forenoon, and while the wind lasted got on gallantly, but towards the afternoon we were almost becalmed in the lake of a Thousand Isles, and our *voyageurs* were compelled to tug away at the oar; we had four rowers, besides the *conducteur* who steered with a small paddle. The scenery of this lake, as it is called, is very picturesque; but the succession of islands becomes at last tiresome, the more so that you find them take the wind out of the sail, and wofully retard your progress. I had made allowance for a reasonable proportion of exaggeration in its poetical name, but the islands crowded upon each other in such numerous groupes, and we were so long of getting clear of them, that I began at last to doubt whether there might not be two thousand, instead of one. They are of all sizes; some of them bare rocks, a few feet square, others two or three miles long, and thickly wooded. Loch Lomond, with her two dozen of islets, has long sheltered the manufac-

turers of the genuine *peat reek* from the scent of the revenue officers; but this must be the very paradise of smugglers, should such a trade ever become profitable in Upper Canada; and a hopeless business it will be for the excisemen, who are sent to ferret them out.

Towards evening it began to rain; but some of the company on board were more disagreeable than the weather. These were part of a detachment of peripatetic Thespians, who had sojourned for some time at Kingston, and were on their return to the lower province; the charms of some bottles of rum which they had on board were too strong for their self-denying powers, they became very soon completely intoxicated, and inundated us with disgusting loquacity. But for their presence, I could have endured the rain for an hour or two, to listen to the boat songs of the Canadian voyageurs, which in the stillness of the night had a peculiarly pleasing effect. They kept time to these songs as they rowed; and the plashing of the oars in the water, combined with the wildness of their cadences, gave a romantic character to our darksome voyage. In most of the songs two of the boatmen began the air, the other two sang a response, and then all united in the chorus. Their music might not have been esteemed fine, by those whose skill in concords and chromatics, forbids them to be gratified but on scientific principles; my convenient ignorance of

these rules allowed me to reap undisturbed enjoyment from the voyageurs' melodies, which like many of our Scotish airs were singularly plaintive and pleasing.

Our conducteur expected to have reached Brockville that evening, a small town about 55 miles below Kingston, but we began to be somewhat impatient to get on shore. The evening was so dark, that we could with difficulty distinguish even the shadowy outline of the banks of the river; not a sound was heard around us but the echo of the voices of those on board, or the plash of the oars; and we were gliding along with no other conviction of safety than what arose from confidence in our boatmen. About eight o'clock, a twinkling light by the river's side broke upon our view; we hailed the cheering spark, and urged the conducteur to haul in to the bank, in the hope of obtaining lodgings. It was a farmer's house; a crackling fire of pine logs blazed on the ample hearth, festoons of sliced apples for winter pies, hung round it to dry, and the comfortable kitchen contrasted most agreeably with our situation in the batteau in darkness and rain. The inmates made us welcome to their fire side, and although not much used to entertain strangers, very soon provided for us a most comfortable supper. Hot steaks, fried bacon and potatoes, and for those who preferred it, tea and toast, were served up with an alacrity and neatness which would have done credit to a regular

inn. It scarcely needs to be added, that we enacted wonders with the knife and fork. When the time of retiring came, every bed in the house was surrendered for our use; but finding that I could not participate in one, unless I accepted also of a bed-fellow, I preferred my box-coat and the floor.

About two o'clock next morning, we were roused to resume our voyage. The boatmen before starting swallowed a plentiful allowance of soup thickened with meat and bread, very similar to what sailors call *lobscoss*; the players fortified themselves for the water by an antiphogmatic of rum.

The wind had shifted during the night, and was now right a-head; it was a genuine American north-wester, and blew as if it were resolved to take the skin off our cheeks. The water froze upon the oars, as they rose above the surface; and I never appreciated better the comforts of a thick travelling coat, and a fur cap. Our boatmen had to row without intermission; and although they did not always pull very hard, they tugged away with amazing constancy. About nine o'clock in the morning we reached Prescott, sixty-seven miles from Kingston.

Prescott is at present a poor village, although from its position, at the bottom of the sloop navigation, it is likely to be ultimately a place of some importance. I slept here on my former passage down the river; but although there are two or three taverns and several stores, I could not any

where get small notes for a ten dollar one. Close by Prescott is a small turf intrenchment, dignified with the appellation of Fort Wellington; I applied for admission to it, but was refused by the sentinel at the gate. There is a thriving little town on the American side of the river, immediately opposite Prescott, called Ogdensburgh, to which I was obliged to cross to have my note exchanged. It is characterized by all the activity for which the young towns in the United States are so remarkable; and the contrast of apathy and inexertion on the one side of the river, with bustle and business on the opposite, cannot but be mortifying to one of genuine national feelings. The Durham boat in which I first navigated the rapids, started from Ogdensburgh, with a cargo of flour and bacon, which after being entered at the custom house at Prescott, was conveyed for sale to Montreal.

As you have probably had enough of my companions in the batteau, I shall take leave of them here, and revert to my first passage down the river, in the American Durham boat.

It was on a very hot afternoon in the latter end of May, that we sailed from the wharf at Prescott. Below the village are several islands, more or less covered by wood; one of them was completely stripped in a single night, during last war, to prevent the American soldiers from lurking in the bushes, and making an unexpected descent. When we passed it, it bore the tents of

and serene. The wind, which had previously voured us, died gradually away, and the sail h loosely from the gaff. Our steersman turned head wistfully towards the fading beams—" away, my lads, pull away; we are late enou The rowers with the composure and silenc machinery, lengthened the stroke, and bent th selves to their oars with all the energy of wl their well-strung muscles were capable. Durham boat was so deeply laden, that there room only for two oars, and these at the bow; we had four hands however, so that was doubly manned.

In a short time we reached an island which vides the current of the river, and we steered the right hand channel. The tall pines which ered the island to the water's edge threw a gl across the confined pass, if I may so call it, the burden of Moore's song was forcibly sugge

> " Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
> The rapids are near and the day light's past!"

Though the afternoon had been very hot, the sun's rays, reflected from the water, so pow that I felt my face quite scorched, yet eve brought a chill along with it which strongly clined me to have recourse to my great c When I looked however to the frightful rap with which the stream now hurried us alon could not resist a feeling that I should be

without their encumbrance. Little indeed could the most expert swimmer hope to effect in such a torrent—and feeble my hope of safety where skill in swimming is necessary to secure it—yet who is it that would not struggle for his life, even in the rapids of the St. Lawrence?

The velocity of the stream was now equal probably to about ten knots an hour, yet its surface was as smooth as glass. To look into the water we might easily have persuaded ourselves that we were quietly slumbering at anchor; but when we glanced at either bank, the pine trees seemed to whirl past with the rapidity of thought. Might not a moralist trace in the rapid of the Long Sault, an apt emblem of worldly pleasures?—Smooth and seductive in their early aspect, they lure the bark of inexperienced youth; and alternating for a time between excitement and repose, deceive him with the hope that retreat will be at all times easy;—by imperceptible degrees their power increases, the surface may be still unbroken, but the current hastens its career—one landmark after another vanishes from his sight—the season of deliberation goes past—he casts a wistful look at the shore, but no human power can enable him to reach it—he is hurried on, and on, and on—the waves heave in frightful commotion around him—his trembling vessel rocks and pitches in the stream—till at last it is overwhelmed, if a power above his own prevent not, in the roaring and tumultuous breakers.

The two currents after embracing the islan revert below it into a single stream. The extre commotion with which this re-union is accomplis ed is the occasion of the Big Pitch. The furio torrents rush against each other like two chargi squadrons, heaving up their roaring billows, a tossing high their crests of broken foam; retiri at last with apparent reluctance from the confli and whirling into numerous eddies by the mar of the stream.

Ere the tops of the white breakers became vi ble, preparations were made for encountering t commotion. The sail was lowered down and t gaff secured, the steersman called one of t hands to his assistance, the rest hung upon th oars, waiting the word of command to strike The boat began now to rock from side to side, a the terrible cauldron was boiling before us. that could be done, was to direct our course that part of the channel where experience t them that the passage was least hazardous, a then, with all their strength, to pull the ves through. I felt an involuntary shrinking as t captain aimed for what seemed to me the m frightful spot of all;—we were swept into the mi of the furious commotion, and the order was j given 'Pull away!' when a heavy wave burst over our feeble bulwarks. Our quivering ba however struggled manfully through; our dan was but momentary, and we soon reached the st

siding billows which skirt the extremities of the heavy swell.

Another peril however succeeded. The thrilling emotion excited by the passage of the Big Pitch had not subsided, when our vessel was caught in the vortex of a powerful eddy, and whirled round almost broadside to the stream. "Pull away with the starboard oar!" roared the steersman, with a voice like thunder, and a tremendous oath; the order was promptly obeyed, the command of the vessel recovered, and we once more found ourselves in smooth water. We had shipped more than a hogshead of water in this dangerous rapid.

It was now about nine o'clock, and hauling in along shore for the night, we got lodgings at a settler's house near the river.

Next morning at four we reimbarked; the wind was now quite fair and blowing fresh, and we got along with ease and rapidity. Soon after starting we passed the village of Cornwall on the left bank, and entered a wider part of the river called lake St. Francis.

In this lake, which is nearly thirty miles long, we passed some rafts of timber on their way to Montreal. These rafts are of a prodigious size, and the people who navigate them live during the passage in a small hut, which is erected on the top. A stout railing goes round the edge of the raft, from which long oars hang down at short distances into the water; the men go from one oar to another as necessity requires, and by

vigorous exertion at rowing, keep the raft in the proper part of the stream. When the wind is fair small sails are spread out, but at other times they depend upon the force of the current to be carried forward. Notwithstanding every precaution in the construction of these rafts, they are not unfrequently dashed to pieces in shooting the rapids.

Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon we approached the lower end of lake St. Francis, where a succession of furious rapids begins; and we hauled in to the left hand shore at the village of Coteau du Lac, to procure a pilot. It is not in general from any distrust of their own ability, to navigate these dangerous passages, that the captains of the Durham boats take pilots here; but because, by a very salutary regulation, the owner of the boat becomes responsible for the value of the cargo, if this precaution is neglected. Instances have happened of their incurring this responsibility, and in 1810 a shipwreck, in which several people lost their lives, was the consequence of such fool hardiness.[3] The owner of our cargo of flour

[3] A particular account of this catastrophe has recently appeared, written by one of the passengers in the boat, who was most singularly preserved, after having been carried down the rapids on a part of the wreck. It corresponds exactly with what I heard on various occasions in Canada, and is so interesting that I make no apology for subjoining it, as it appears in the Edinburgh Magazine for February 1819. The writer is inaccurate as to the distance between the rapids; and he makes some reflections on the poor Indians which might well have been spared, because totally inconsistent with the

detailed to me the frightful circumstances of this catastrophe; and it was therefore with no small satisfaction that I heard our steersman mention his

character of those of them who have not been degraded by the vices and immoralities of the whites; but these circumstances do not affect the general accuracy of the narrative.

['The following Narrative first appeared a few days ago in the Liverpool Mercury, the editors of which state that they have published it by the permission of the writer, who is a well-known merchant of great respectability in that city. We have been induced to transfer it into our miscellany, not merely from the uncommon interest of the detail, but because we happen to be able to vouch for its authenticity, upon the undoubted testimony of a gentleman now in Edinburgh, who was residing on the banks of the St. Lawrence at the time the accident happened, and who was intimately acquainted with some individuals of the party below alluded to. One of these, rescued *above* the Cascades, was Lieutenant Allan Maclean of the 41st, then on his way to join his regiment at Quebec. As the writer of the Narrative has not himself given his own name to the public, we do not avail ourselves of our private information to mention it.'—*Edit. of Edin. Mag.*]

"On the 22d day of April 1810, our party set sail in a large schooner from Fort George, or Niagara Town, and in two days crossed lake Ontario to Kingston, at the head of the river St. Lawrence, distant from Niagara about 200 miles. Here we hired an American barge (a large flat-bottomed boat) to carry us to Montreal, a further distance of 200 miles; then set out from Kingston on the 28th of April, and arrived the same evening at Ogdensburgh, a distance of 75 miles. The following evening we arrived at Cornwall, and the succeeding night at Pointe du Lac, on lake St. Francis. Here our bargemen obtained our permission to return up the river; and we embarked in another barge, deeply laden with potashes, passengers, and luggage. Above Montreal, for nearly 100 miles, the river St. Lawrence is interrupted in its course by rapids, which are occasioned by the river being confined in comparatively narrow, shallow, rocky channels;—through these it rushes with great force and noise, and is

purpose of taking a pilot,—particularly as he afterwards boasted that he could navigate the vessel as well as the best of them.

agitated like the ocean in a storm. Many people prefer these rapids, for grandeur of appearance, to the falls of Niagara. They are from half a mile to nine miles long each, and require regular pilots. On the 30th of April we arrived at the village of the Cedars, immediately below which are three sets of very dangerous rapids, (the Cedars, the Split-rock, and the Cascades,) distant from each other about one mile. On the morning of the 1st of May we set out from the Cedars, the barge very deep and very leaky. The captain, a daring rash man, refused to take a pilot. After we passed the Cedar rapids, not without danger, the captain called for some rum, swearing, at the same time, that God Almighty could not steer the barge better than he did!* Soon after this we entered the Split-rock rapids by the wrong channel, and found ourselves advancing rapidly towards a dreadful watery precipice, down which we went. The barge slightly grazed her bottom against the rock, and the fall was so great as nearly to take away the breath. We here took in a great deal of water, which was mostly baled out again before we were hurried on to what the Canadians call the 'grand bouillon,' or great boiling. In approaching this place the captain let go the helm, saying, 'By God! here we fill.' The barge was almost immediately overwhelmed in the midst of immense foaming breakers, which rushed over the bows, carrying away planks, oars, &c. About half a minute elapsed between the filling and going down of the barge, during which I had sufficient presence of mind to strip off my three coats, and was loosening my suspenders, when the barge sunk, and I found myself floating in the midst of people, baggage, &c. Each man caught hold of something; one of the crew caught hold of me, and kept me down under water, but contrary to my expectation, let me go again. On arising to the surface, I got hold of a trunk, on which two other men were then holding. Just at this spot, where

* 'This insane and impious bravado is still remembered in Canada. *Edit. Edin. Mag.*'

We were detained at this village for a considerable time, for on our arrival all the pilots were down the river.

the Split-rock rapids terminate, the bank of the river is well inhabited; and we could see women on shore running about much agitated. A canoe put off, and picked up three of our number, who had gained the bottom of the barge, which had upset and got rid of its cargo; these they landed on an island. The canoe put off again, and was approaching near to where I was, with two others, holding on the trunk, when, terrified with the vicinity of the Cascades, to which we were approaching, it put back, notwithstanding my exhortations, in French and English, to induce the two men on board to advance. The bad hold which one man had of the trunk, to which we were adhering, subjected him to constant immersion, and, in order to escape his seizing hold of me, I let go the trunk, and, in conjunction with another man, got hold of the boom, (which, with the gaff, sails, &c. had been detached from the mast, to make room for the cargo,) and floated off. I had just time to grasp this boom, when we were hurried into the Cascades; in these I was instantly buried, and nearly suffocated. On rising to the surface, I found one of my hands still on the boom, and my companion also adhering to the gaff. Shortly after descending the Cascades, I perceived the barge, bottom upwards, floating near me. I succeeded in getting to it, and held by a crack in one end of it; the violence of the water, and the falling out of the casks of ashes, had quite wrecked it. For a long time I contented myself with this hold, not daring to endeavour to get upon the bottom, which I at length effected; and from this, my new situation, I called out to my companion, who still preserved his hold of the gaff. He shook his head; and, when the waves suffered me to look up again, he was gone. He made no attempt to come near me, being unable or unwilling to let go his hold, and trust himself to the waves, which were then rolling over his head.

"The Cascades are a kind of fall, or rapid descent, in the river, over a rocky channel below: going down is called, by the French, 'Sauter,' to leap or shove the Cascades. For two miles below, the channel continues in uproar, just like a storm at sea; and I was

The rapids which were now before us are four in number; those of Coteau du Lac, the Cedars, the Split Rock, and the Cascades. Although

frequently nearly washed off the barge by the waves which rolled over. I now entertained no hope whatever of escaping; and although I continued to exert myself to hold on, such was the state to which I was reduced by cold, that I wished only for speedy death, and frequently thought of giving up the contest, as useless. I felt as if compressed into the size of a monkey; my hands appeared diminished in size one-half; and I certainly should (after I became very cold and much exhausted) have fallen asleep, but for the waves that were passing over me, and obliged me to attend to my situation. I had never descended the St. Lawrence before, but I knew there were more rapids a-head, perhaps another set of the Cascades; but, at all events, the La Chine rapids, whose situation I did not exactly know. I was in hourly expectation of these putting an end to me, and often fancied some points of ice extending from the shore to be the heads of foaming rapids. At one of the moments in which the succession of waves permitted me to look up, I saw at a distance a canoe with four men coming towards me, and waited in confidence to hear the sound of their paddles; but in this I was disappointed, the men, as I afterwards learned, were Indians (genuine descendants of the Tartars) who happening to fall in with one of the passenger's trunks, picked it up, and returned to shore for the purpose of pillaging it, leaving, as they since acknowledged, the man on the boat to his fate. Indeed, I am certain, I should have had more to fear from their avarice, than to hope from their humanity; and it is more than probable, that my life would have been taken to secure them in the possession of my watch and several half eagles, which I had about me.

"The accident happened at eight o'clock in the morning; in the course of some hours, as the day advanced, the sun grew warmer, the wind blew from the south, and the water became calmer. I got upon my knees, and found myself in the small lake St. Louis, about from three to five miles wide; with some difficulty, I got upon my feet, but was soon convinced, by cramps and spasms in all

varying somewhat in their individual features, they bear a general similarity, and result from the same causes—a great contraction and sudden descent in

my sinews, that I was quite incapable of swimming any distance, and I was then two miles from shore. I was now going, with wind and current to destruction; and cold, hungry, and fatigued, was obliged again to sit down in the water to rest, when an extraordinary circumstance greatly relieved me. On examining the wreck, to see if it was possible to detach any part of it to steer by, I perceived something loose, entangled in a fork of the wreck, and so carried along. This I found to be a small trunk, bottom upwards, which with some difficulty I dragged up upon the barge. After near an hour's work, in which I broke my penknife, trying to cut out the lock, I made a hole in the top, and to my great satisfaction, drew out a bottle of rum, a cold tongue, some cheese, and a bag full of bread, cakes, &c. all wet. Of these I made a seasonable, though very moderate use, and the trunk answered the purpose of a chair to sit upon, elevated above the surface of the water.

"After in vain endeavouring to steer the wreck, or direct its course to the shore, and having made every signal (with my waistcoat, &c.) in my power, to the several headlands which I had passed, I fancied I was driving into a bay, which, however, soon proved to be the termination of the lake, and the opening of the river, the current of which was carrying me rapidly along. I passed several small uninhabited islands, but the banks of the river appearing to be covered with houses, I again renewed my signals with my waistcoat and a shirt, which I took out of the trunk, hoping as the river narrowed, they might be perceived; the distance was too great. The velocity with which I was going, convinced me of my near approach to the dreadful rapids of La Chine. Night was drawing on, my destruction appeared certain, but did not disturb me very much, the idea of death had lost its novelty, and become quite familiar. Finding signals in vain, I now set up a cry or howl, such as I thought best calculated to carry to a distance, and being favoured by the wind, it did, although at above a mile distance, reach the ears of some people on shore. At last I perceived a boat rowing towards

the bed of the river, accompanied in general with numerous islands and rocks in the middle of the stream. The flood thus chafed and pent up, within

me, which being very small and white bottomed, I had for some time taken for a fowl with a white breast; and I was taken off the barge by Captain Johnstone, after being ten hours on the water. I found myself at the village of La Chine, 21 miles below where the accident happened, and having been driven by the winding of the current a much greater distance. I received no other injury than bruised knees and breast, with a slight cold; the accident took some hold of my imagination, and for seven or eight succeeding nights, in my dreams, I was engaged in the dangers of the cascades, and surrounded by drowning men.

"My escape was owing to a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, which appear almost providential. I happened to catch hold of various articles of support, and to exchange each article for another just at the right time. Nothing but the boom could have carried me down the Cascades without injury; and nothing but the barge could have saved me below them. I was also fortunate in having the whole day; had the accident happened one hour later, I should have arrived opposite the village of La Chine after dark, and of course, would have been destroyed in the rapids below, to which I was rapidly advancing. The trunk which furnished me with provisions and a resting place above the water, I have every reason to think was necessary to save my life; without it I must have passed the whole time in the water, and been exhausted with cold and hunger. When the people on shore saw our boat take the wrong channel, they predicted our destruction: the floating luggage, by supporting us for a time, enabled them to make an exertion to save us; but as it was not supposed possible to survive the passage of the Cascades, no farther exertions were thought of, nor indeed could they well have been made.

"It was at this very place that General Ambert's brigade of 30[illegible] men, coming to attack Canada were lost; the French at Montreal received the first intelligence of the invasion, by the dead bodies floating past the town. The pilot who conducted their first bat-

narrow and obstructed passages, rages through them with prodigious violence; dashing furiously over the rocks, sweeping round insulated frag-

teaux committing the same error that we did, ran for the wrong channel, and the other batteaux following close, all were involved in the same destruction. The whole party with which I was, escaped; four left the barge at the Cedar village, above the rapids, and went to Montreal by land; two more were saved by the canoe; the barge's crew all accustomed to labour, were lost; of the eight men who passed down the Cascades, none but myself escaped, or were seen again; nor indeed was it possible for any one without my extraordinary luck, and the aid of the barge, to which they must have been very close, to have escaped; the other men must have been drowned immediately on entering the cascades. The trunks, &c. to which they adhered, and the heavy great coats which they had on, very probably helped to overwhelm them; but they must have gone at all events; swimming in such a current of broken stormy waves was impossible; still I think my knowing how to swim kept me more collected, and rendered me more willing to part with one article of support to gain a better; those who could not swim would naturally cling to whatever hold they first got, and of course, many had very bad ones. The Captain passed me above the Cascades, on a sack of woollen clothes, which were doubtless soon saturated and sunk.

"The trunk which I picked up, belonged to a young man from Upper Canada, who was one of those drowned; it contained clothes, and about £70 in gold, which was restored to his friends. My own trunk contained, besides clothes, about £200 in gold and bank notes. On my arrival at La Chine, I offered a reward of 100 dollars, which induced a Canadian to go in search of it. He found it some days after, on the shore of an island on which it had been driven, and brought it to La Chine, where I happened to be at the time. I paid him his reward, and understood that above one-third of it was to be immediately applied to the purchase of a certain number of masses which he had vowed, in the event of success, previous to his setting out on the search." *Edinburgh Magazine, February*, 1819.

ments with the velocity of a whirlpool, and heavi even in the less agitated spots with a broken a fearful commotion, such as the sea presents afte tempest of contrary winds, which have successiv contended for the mastery of the deep.

An inexperienced spectator would think it imp sible that a vessel could venture among these rapi without being instantly engulphed, or dashed pieces; and I have often wondered who was the fi to adventure his life in the daring experiment. some of the channels certain destruction awaits who enter;—how many lives were lost, ere the pr ticable channels were ascertained? The name of t first adventurer is for ever lost, but there is scarc a deed of daring, in the history of our species, which it could be said that it surpassed his.

> "Illi robur, et æs triplex
> Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
> Commisit pelago ratem
> Primus."

Some travellers have said, that the rapids are sublime objects as the falls of Niagara. I do think that they can be well compared with ea other; but if the sublimity of an object is to be timated by the intensity of emotion which it p duces, I doubt not that many will award the pa to the rapids. We only look at the falls; but shoot the rapids. In the one case the spectator in perfect safety; in the other his life is staked

the result. He is tossed on the tops of the foaming waves, and hurried with irresistible fury past rocks, and shoals, and breakers;—were a nail to start in the slender bark which carries him, or the paddle to be forced out of the hand of the pilot, in all probability his life would be the forfeit. When the traveller only looks at the rapids from the bank, he knows nothing of their grandeur, and cannot possibly put them on a footing with the falls.

From Coteau du Lac to the bottom of the Cascades is about eleven miles, and the intervening portions of smooth water do not exceed about a third of that distance. The largest interval is between Coteau du Lac and the Cedars; the others are so short that if the wind is fair, as it was to us, they scarcely afford breathing time between one struggle and the next.

Grand Isle, about four miles in length, separating the river into two principal channels, extends nearly the whole way from Coteau du Lac to the Cedars; between the bend of its upper extremity and the left hand shore is a cluster of eight or ten small islands, which greatly increases the danger of passage. A canal has been cut along the shore nearly opposite to the lowest of these isles, through which boats are taken up the river; for to stem the torrent is impossible. Some military works are erected so as to command the passage.

The pilot which we at last obtained was an active but cautious man, and showed so much dexterity in

the use of the steering oar, that I felt a great degree of confidence in being under his guidance. I could not help wondering, however, while dashing through the troubled waters, that any one should voluntarily choose so frightful a trade;—he had but just returned by land from piloting another boat, and during a great part of the year he is employed in nothing else from one week's end to another.

Our boat was soon in the midst of the terrifying waves, now borne aloft on their foaming summits, and again sinking as if we were to founder in the channel, while nothing was heard around us but the furious rushing and agitation of the irresistible torrent. We rode through the dangerous pass however without shipping any water, and passing the Point au Diable, got again into the smooth stream. We were now in the channel on the left of Grand Isle; the one on the right is less interrupted with islands, but it is much narrower, and not less difficult to navigate.

The sail was again raised, and driving gaily before the wind we in a short time gained sight of the village of the Cedars, on the left bank; so called from the trees which cover some of the islands opposite to it. Here the river reverts into a single channel, and that so narrow and so much obstructed with small islands that the commotion is again frightful. Boats coming up require to be unloaded considerably below, and dragged along close

by the shore; the cargoes are conveyed for a considerable distance by land. There are at this point two navigable channels, called the Grande Batture, and the Rapide de Bouleau; our pilot chose the former, we passed safely through, and the Cedars were soon behind us.

A short interval now succeeded, and we next approached the Split Rock, or La Buisson, where the boat was wrecked in 1810. The danger here arises not so much from islands, as from the more precipitous descent in the bed of the river, and the numerous rocks with which the channel is covered. Our pilot evinced a perfect knowledge of every dangerous spot, and avoided them all as they successively appeared. The catastrophe to which I have alluded, was occasioned principally by the boatman's having taken a wrong channel; I did not observe that in the one through which we went, the agitation was greater than at Coteau du Lac, or the Cedars. By the side of this rapid, cuts have been made through two points of land, to aid boats in ascending the stream. The Cascades were now before us, and with them terminates the impeded navigation till we pass the village of La Chine, about twenty two miles below.

At the Cascades is the narrowest strait in the whole river, and immediately below it the ample tide of the Ottawa, rolling downwards from the north, forms a junction with the St. Lawrence. A point of land projects between the two streams,

across which is another canal, 500 yards long, with locks at both ends. Between the promontory and the right bank of the St. Lawrence is a small island[1], nearly in the gorge of the strait; and below it is a larger one exactly opposite the end of the promontory, called the Isle des Cascades, on both sides of which the rapids descend.

The fall of the channel at the Cascades is, as the name imports, much more precipitous than at any of the former points, and the velocity of the current proportionably increased. Besides the islands which have been mentioned, there are many dangerous rocks; and where the channel is of a softer texture the water has scooped out several yawning cavities, from which the waves regurgitate with prodigious violence, and with an appearance altogether peculiar and terrifying. To avoid the numerous perils which threaten here, the skill of the pilot is tasked to the utmost. He cautiously directs the vessel between the islands and the shore, shunning a rock on this side and a gulph on the opposite—

"Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis!"

watchful at the same time lest the foaming breakers should upset or overwhelm his fragile bark.

All the tumult and danger was at length past,

[1] It was on this island that the three individuals were landed, who were picked off the wreck, before it had drifted into the Cascades.

and our pilot consigned the steering oar to the captain's hand. Below the Isle des Cascades a canoe was in waiting, into which he stepped, and left us to pursue our course through lake St. Louis. The wind continued perfectly fair, and as nothing now impeded our course the sail was stretched out to its full extent, and we swept along like a bird upon the wing.

Towards the lower end of the lake and close by the right shore is Nun's Island, about a mile in length, behind which is the mouth of the river Chateauguay, and on the bank a village of the same name. Our captain drew in to the village, to procure a pilot for the La Chine rapids, and making the circuit of the island returned into the wider channel.

Passengers by the boats generally leave them at La Chine, nine miles from Montreal, and travel the rest of the way by land; but I had now overcome my fear of the rapids, and resolved to remain on board. On reaching however a village of the Caughnawaga Indians, opposite to La Chine, the pilot thought it too late to attempt the rapids that evening; the principal danger here arises from their shallowness, and he very prudently determined to have day light for the passage. As there is no inn among the Indians, nor any possibility of sleeping on board, I had of course no choice, but left the vessel and crossing the river in a wooden canoe, paddled by three Indian boys, took up my

quarters at La Chine in a very comfortable inn kept by a countryman.

La Chine is the mustering place of batteaux going up the river, and goods to be conveyed in them are transported by land from Montreal. It is also the depot for the canoes employed in the fur trade; I saw several new ones, about to start for the remote regions of the distant lakes. These singular vessels are about thirty feet long, and four wide at the centre; the bottom is round, without any keel, and each end tapers to a curved point.

It is worthy of notice, that European ingenuity has not superadded the slightest improvement, to the Indian mode of building canoes; and they are found to be by far the best kind of boats, for the peculiar navigation in which they are used. They are composed entirely of the bark of the birch tree, sewed upon a very slender frame-work of wood, and made water-tight by a coating of pitch or gum upon the seams. No iron, not even a nail, is employed in their construction. Each canoe carries from eight to ten men, besides the provisions and cargo, which are estimated at about five tons; yet they are so light that occasionally two men, and at all times four, can carry them across the portages, that is, the the ground between one navigable stream and another. The toils and privations of a life so spent must be very great; yet the Canadians in this neighbourhood prefer it to every other, and the villages are so filled with the families of voyageurs, that in

the summer months there are scarcely any inhabitants to be found in them but women and children.

I started the following morning in a calash for Montreal. The calash resembles very much an old-fashioned gig, though in general built with a greater degree of strength. It holds two persons, besides the driver, who sits on front upon a kind of box rising from the foot board, and with his feet upon the spokes cheers on his little gray dumple with an incessant, *marche donc ! marche donc !*

The fields which I passed on the road to Montreal, betokened that their cultivators had brought their ideas of farming from a European school. Neither stumps nor worm fences were to be seen, but straight enclosures of boards, surrounding ridges and furrows of the utmost neatness and accuracy. The cottages by the road side were in general of wood, but very neatly constructed; the ends of the logs carefully dovetailed into each other, and the exterior surface planed and white washed. By and by the close succession of dwellings of dark coloured stone, with bright tin roofs, announced the suburbs of Montreal, and very soon 'Rue Notre Dame,' painted upon the corner of a house, indicated that I was within the city. On going to the river side I found that the Durham boat, with my trunk on board, had arrived in safety before me.

LETTER XVI.

MONTREAL
Mountain
La Chine
River
St
Caughnawaga
Indians
Lawrence
Prairie

LETTER XVI.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF MONTREAL—STREETS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS — MONUMENT TO NELSON — INHABITANTS — CAUGHNAWAGA INDIANS — MERCHANTS—COMMERCIAL CHARACTER — ROMISH RELIGION—NUNNERIES— COLLEGES — WANT OF AN ENGLISH ONE—FRENCH CHURCH—BAPTISM OF BELLS—ALL SAINTS' DAY—SEIGNIORIAL RIGHTS OF THE CLERGY—SOCIETY IN MONTREAL.

Montreal, November, 1818.

I HAVE got once more into a stone-built town; constructed with even more compactness, and apparently more stability, than my native city. It is obvious that the founders of Montreal, must have brought their ideas of city comfort from the old world, for it presents a great contrast to the system which prevails in the United States. Here are no clap-boarded houses, as gay as the plane and the paint-brush can make them, but so perishable that the snuffing of a candle may be their ruin—no neat brick tenements, lintelled with marble, and glowing with vermillion and varnish—no wide avenue-like streets, skirted with forest trees, and parcelled out here and there into grass plots or gardens;—all this has been left on the republican side of the St. Lawrence, and nothing seems to have entered into

the elements of Montreal but stone, iron, and tin; put together with as much regard to economy of space, as if the Indian occupants of the ground had sold it to the first settlers by the square inch.

Montreal[1] is built upon an island, of the same name, about thirty-two miles in length; which, with two or three others of inferior dimensions, is embraced by the united streams of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, immediately below their junction. The city and its suburbs extend for nearly two miles, along the northern, or rather the western bank of the St. Lawrence; for the course of the river takes a bend here, and runs very nearly from south to north. From the opposite bank the town has a showy appearance, and in summer the circumjacent scenery is exceedingly beautiful. Behind and to the left of the city rises the Mountain, from which it originally took its name; not a conical eminence, but a swelling semicircular ridge, with its concave surface towards the stream, and placed like a rampart behind the city to shield

[1] A copious and very accurate "Topographical Description of Canada," accompanied by very large and beautifully executed maps, has been published by Col. Bouchette, a native of the country, and Surveyor-General of the lower province. This work is most honourable to the accuracy, industry, and taste, of the author, and has been my authority in some of the more minute matters of topographical detail. Col. Bouchette's politics are of rather an ardent temperament, leading him sometimes to remarks upon his republican neighbours, more severe than just; he could scarcely however have been a true Canadian without this.

it in winter from the unkindly blast. A dense forest covers the greater part of the hill, except where space has been cleared for a few neatly built mansion houses, whose bright tin roofs glitter in the sunbeams. Behind one of the most remote of these, a monumental column rises from among the trees. Between the bottom of the eminence and the spires of the city, a thin blue smoke ascends from part of the suburbs which the sinking of the ground conceals from view. In front of its dark coloured outline are the tall masts of merchantmen from the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde; huge steam boats with double chimneys; river craft of all sizes; and enormous rafts of timber. In the middle of the stream reposes the island of St. Helena, encircled by a groupe of smaller ones; while the unceasing sound of a small rapid which surrounds them falls gently on the ear. To the right and left rolls the majestic flood of the St. Lawrence, about two miles in width, and although yet five hundred miles from the ocean, capable of floating on its surface vessels of six or seven hundred tons burden.

The city, unfortunately, does not gain much upon you by a nearer inspection. The streets are for the greater part most inconveniently narrow, and the foot-walks in many places incumbered with cellar doors and other projections. The dark coloured limestone of which the houses are built, has a dull effect, and the massive iron shutters, folded back from almost every window and door, con-

siderably increase the gloom. The bright tin which covers the spires and roofs, has decided utility to recommend it, but in warm sunshine its reflection is painful to the eyes, and at all times it has an air of flaunting vulgarity. Blue slate harmonizes much more agreeably with the azure of the sky, but it will not stand, as I have been told, the intense cold which prevails in winter. The tin is put on in rows, not parallel, but obliquely to the eaves of the house, the nails which fasten it are carefully overlapped, and no where is the slightest degree of rust to be seen.

Between the older part of the city and the mountain, some wider streets have been laid out, which will greatly improve the general features of Montreal; and I have been astonished to observe on my second visit, the great number of buildings which have started up, in various directions, since the period of my first. The town is obviously increasing with rapidity, and a number of very splendid mansions have lately been erected on the slope of the mountain, which would be regarded as magnificent residences, even by the wealthy merchants of the mother country.

Notre Dame street, the best in the older part of the town lies nearly parallel to the river, and is about three quarters of a mile in length. It is however, unfortunately broken into two separate portions by the principal French church, which like St. George's in Glasgow, has been awkwardly set

down in the very centre of the street. In making a turn round this church the street widens into a small square called the Place d' Armes;—which I feel myself the more bound to commemorate, because the residence of a family who have treated me with a degree of kindness and attention, of which I shall cherish a very grateful recollection.

Montreal possesses a few public buildings, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; the neatest of which, for none of them can be called elegant, are the new Court House and the jail. Behind the Court House is the Champ de Mars; a very level piece of ground of considerable extent, which is a favourite promenade in the summer evenings, and the principal scene of military displays. Opposite to the jail is a monument to the memory of Lord Nelson, consisting of a Doric column, springing from a square pedestal and surmounted with a statue of the Admiral. Upon the four sides of the pedestal are basso relievo representations of his principal achievements, surrounded with inscriptions and allegorical figures. The column is of stone, the statue and bas reliefs of composition. It stands at the top of a pretty steep street at right angles to the river; his Lordship looks towards the river, because the best view of the monument is obtained from the bottom of the declivity, but it unfortunately happens that the principal street of the city passes behind him, and he has consequently turned his back upon it and all that it contains.

The Episcopal church, a recent erection, was intended to be a splendid one, with a towering spire, but the *wherewithal* was exhausted ere the spire grew up, and for the present a covering of boards serves to indicate where it is intended to be.

The population of Montreal, notwithstanding of the mixture of British merchants, has still an aspect decidedly French, and that language assails your ear in every quarter. The dress of the lower orders is somewhat peculiar. The women and children have a kind of quaint formality in the shape of their clothes; the men, in place of a hat, wear a red or blue nightcap of a thick texture, with a party coloured worsted sash around their waist, and shoes fashioned like the Indian moccassins, but of thicker leather. They are great smokers, and seldom to be seen without a small black pipe in their mouths, not unlike the Scotish *cutty*. The politeness of the common people is quite characteristic of their descent, and a couple of carmen cannot address each other on the street without pulling off their caps, and "Bon jour Monsieur." The Romish priests, which are seen gliding quietly along, are habited in a close black robe, buttoned up in front, with a small scull-cap under an ordinary hat, and the lapels of a small black band, with white edges, depending below the chin. The students of the Seminary wear a long blue surtout, with seams of white cloth, and a sash of coloured worsted round the waist, gathered into a knot in front.

Besides the varieties of costume to which I have alluded, a few Indians are almost always in the streets, from the Caughnawaga village.[1] Some of them have a squalid and dirty appearance. But others, and more particularly the females, are very decently attired; I have indeed seen some of them with an ample mantle of fine blue cloth, over garments of India silk. They are fond of silver ornaments, and have generally a broad ring round their hats, and a large disk perforated with holes hanging on their breast. I saw a groupe the other day sitting near the old market, one of whom had an infant suspended at her back, strapped down like an Indian mummy to a piece of board. This singular cradle has a projection to defend the child's head, and is adorned with coloured cloth and beads. I have seen two or three children swathed in this way, none of whom seemed to be at all impatient of the confinement.

[1] In a visit which I made to this village, in the summer, I saw Captain Thomas, an old chief mentioned by Weld. (*Vol. I. p.* 297.) He was formerly a trader and in good circumstances, but is now in poverty and bloated with dissipation; two of his sons were educated at the Seminary in Montreal. I visited a good many of the Indian huts and found most of the females at work, some making and embroidering moccassins, others working the worsted sashes which are worn by the Canadians; these are very ingeniously woven into an arrow-head pattern, occasionally with beads intermixed, and made solely with the hand, without either pins or wires. The females of this village are, so far as I can learn, the sole manufacturers of these sashes, of which a great number are sold to the Montreal storekeepers. Many of the men are voyageurs.

Of the merchants of Montreal I believe the greater proportion are Scotsmen, and not a few are from our native city. A few Englishmen mingle with them, and there are also a considerable number of Americans, from the New England States, who are distinguished by the characteristic shrewdness and perseverance, which have made the natives of that part of the Union so noted throughout the rest of the country. So far as I have been able to discover, the utmost harmony prevails between them and those who are by birth subjects of our sovereign. I dined in a gentleman's house who has thus become voluntarily subject to the laws of our native country; he said that he could not discover that his liberty had been at all abridged by the change.

In the commercial character of Montreal, and of Canada in general, I am disposed to think that there is more of the spirit of individual adventure prevalent, than of mutual co-operation. Until the spring of the present year there was not a banking establishment in the city,[3] notwithstanding the great amount of the foreign and internal commerce. In the United States scarcely has an infant settlement numbered a hundered houses, till a corporation for

[3] An attempt was made several years ago to establish a bank, but the notes, probably from want of confidence, could not be kept in circulation, and the project was speedily abandoned. The want of education among the Canadians is a great obstacle to the general adoption of a paper currency, and as an expedient to assist those who

the manufacture at least of bank notes, if it be nothing more, is immediately set on foot. This is doubtless a precocity of commercial enterprize, but it marks an elasticity of character in the people among whom it appears. That the commercial capital of Canada, on the other hand, with a population of about twenty thousand, and a trade employing annually about 150,000 tons of shipping, should till within these few months have wanted the assistance of such an institution in its money transactions, can only have arisen from a decided difference in the character of its merchants, and a palpable inferiority in them as to enterprize and public spirit.

After all, report says that neither of the two banks, which have come almost simultaneously into operation, would yet have existed, but for the speculating propensities of *Yankees*, some of whom do not even reside in the country. However this may be, their mode of doing business shows, that there is among the partners a considerable degree of timidity as to the success of the speculation, and perhaps some portion of hesitation as to each other's stability. The notes of one of the banks promise, that the specified amount shall be paid "out of the joint funds of the association, and no other;"—a clause

cannot read, one of the new companies has exhibited a row of dollars upon the margin of each of their notes, corresponding in number to its amount. The natives however retain a strong partiality for *l'argent sonant*, in the value of which nobody can cheat them.

which is obviously intended to free the individual stockholders, of all responsibility beyond the amount which each has invested. Some doubt prevails as to the validity of such a stipulation, but whether valid or not, it is certain that no private banking company in Britain would be able to keep such notes in circulation for a single hour. Another singular feature in these establishments is their mode of managing discounts of bills. The directors are the principal merchants of the city, who preside by rotation in the management of the affairs; one is director for this week, another for the next, and the succession is regularly notified in the newspapers. The natural consequence of this must certainly be, that the individual exercising the 'little brief authority,' will naturally be inclined to attend to his own interest, and that of his friends, in the discounts of the week, in preference to all others; and thus the affairs of the company, even although honestly administered, must be subject to perpetual vacillation and uncertainty.

The same deficiency of enterprize is observable in the interrupted state of the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Were a canal cut from Montreal to La Chine, a distance of only nine miles, those troublesome rapids which intervene would be avoided, and the necessity superseded which at present exists of transporting so far, by land, all the merchandise which goes up the country. Such a canal has been talked of for about twenty years, and some

ime ago £25,000 was voted for it, by the provincial egislature. Farther than this it has not yet advanced. In the mean time these fidgetty Yankees, are pushing vigorously forward their canal of 364 miles between lake Erie and the Hudson, and the other of 60, between the Hudson and lake Champlain; and possibly when they have the whole finished, they may take a fancy to cross the St. Lawrence, and in a mere frolic turn up the nine miles between Montreal and La Chine;—it will hardly be a fortnight's work for them.

I must in justice add, however, that some symptoms begin to appear of an improvement in the energy and public spirit of the province. A Fire Insurance Company has come recently into operation, which will retain within the country, a considerable part of the large sum which has hitherto been annually drawn from it by a London company. Some societies for the encouragement of agriculture have also been formed; and we may hope that they will gradually persuade the Canadians not to yoke their oxen by the horns, nor to throw the manure produced by their stable and cowhouse, into the river, as are still practised to a very considerable extent.

The ecclesiastical character of Montreal, as a town pervaded to a great degree by the influence of the church of Rome, naturally excites curiosity as to the various institutions, more or less immediately connected with the support of that system.

Among those which I have seen are two of the nunneries, to which I was conducted by a gentleman of the town. We first called at the convent of the Gray Sisters, containing a *Mère Superieure* and twenty four nuns. This was originally intended as a general hospital for the diseased poor, but is now principally devoted to the care of foundlings, old invalids, and the insane. The nuns whom we saw had none of that sentimental kind of aspect, which readers of ancient ballad and romance are prone to associate with the name; they were plain homely women, rather declining into the vale of years, and excepting that they were somewhat fantastically dressed, might have passed very well for the nurses of a British infirmary. They wore a worsted gown of a light drab colour, with wide turned up sleeves; a close black hood trimmed with crape, over a linen cap of which only the edge could be seen; on their shoulders a kind of tippet, of starched linen, over which hung a small silver crucifix; and to complete the garniture, most of them added a striped blue cotton apron.

In two of the rooms we saw a flock of little chubby children, the very pictures of good health; with the neat little cribs in which they sleep, and various other common places of the nursery;—there seems, by the way, to be no lack of foundlings in Montreal. It was pleasant to remark the interest which the nuns took in their young wards; they patted them on the cheek, spoke with much

feeling of their abandonment by their parents, and looked at them with a degree of kindly sympathy which might almost have made one think that a mother's emotions were stirring at their hearts. In another room appropriated to older invalids, into which we merely peeped, a nun was reading prayers to some of the inmates; and one of them, a man who had a wooden leg lying beside him, having observed us, he buckled it hastily on, and hobbling to the door asked us in English whether we wanted to see the establishment? We requested to be conducted to the chapel, to which he immediately led the way. At one end was a very gaudy altar with the usual decorations, and in a recess on the one side another dedicated *to the heart of the Saviour!* Above it was a painting of a human heart, encircled with thorns, and pierced with nails; on all the candlesticks, and other furniture of the altar, the same emblem frequently appeared. Beside the altar hung a framed sheet of paper, inscribed with prayers, among which I read "Cœur de notre Seigneur priez pour nous!" From two nuns, who were busily employed dusting the ornaments with a bunch of feathers, I purchased two trifling articles of their own handiwork, as some acknowledgment of the attention which we had received; and declining to visit the ward for the insane, of whom we understood that there were six, we took our leave. Before quitting the ground, we took an opportunity of asking our lame guide whether he was a convert

to the religion of the place? He said that he had been a soldier in his youth, and found the convent a very snug resting place in his old age, and not the less so thathe conformed to the religious opinions of those who ministered so materially to his personal comfort.

From the 'Sœurs Gris,' we went to the convent of 'La Congregation de Notre Dame,' consisting of a Superieure and sixty sisters. They are called Black Nuns, in consequence of wearing a black dress, which varies a little in shape as well as colour, from that which we had already seen. This establishment is devoted entirely to the education of girls. We were conducted first into a room where a good many nuns were assembled; after a very polite reception, so far as bowing and smiling went, a number of them began to overwhelm me with questions in French, but I could scarcely muster enough of the language to frame to all of them adequate replies. We were then conducted into two or three different rooms, where we saw rows of young girls employed at various branches of education. Some were sewing and embroidering; others reading; and one I observed with a multiplication table in her hand. Understanding that I was a Scotsman, the nuns pointed out some Scotish girls to my notice; they informed me that their parents, who were Catholics, had emigrated from the Highlands of Scotland to the Glengary settlement in Upper Canada. On taking leave, we

thanked the sisters for their politeness, they thanked us 'for the honour of our call,' and we parted on good terms. There is a third convent called the 'Hôtel Dieu,' conducted by a Superieure and thirty-six nuns, for the reception of the sick and diseased poor, but it I did not visit.

It would show very little candour, to make such institutions as these the subjects of unqualified reprobation. Females who devote their lives to the care of helpless infancy, debilitated old age, and the unfortunate subjects of mental alienation, are neither idly nor uselessly employed. Some of them, I doubt not, are actuated by the spirit of the good Samaritan, and enjoy the sincerest gratification in being able to alleviate the sorrows of a suffering fellow-creature. Nor can we pass by without commendation, the labours of those who are instructing the young of their own sex, in the elements of reading and arithmetic, and the useful arts of domestic life. We must distinguish however between the secular and the religious characteristics of such establishments; and while we readily concede our respect for the one, we cannot but accompany it with our thorough disapprobation of the other. God can never approve of vows, which, either in man or woman, are nothing else than a deliberate determination, sanctioned by an oath, to oppose the appointments of his all-wise administration;—to regard such infatuated self-devotion as a meritorious claim for the enjoyment

of future blessedness, is one of those awful delusions which could only have been devised by him 'who was a deceiver from the beginning.' All the advantages of these institutions might be attained without the existence of such a bond of servitude; and the temporal good, of which nuns and monks may be in some cases productive, can never be any reparation, or even apology, for the more permanent mischief with which it is necessarily connected.

There are now no monasteries in Canada. A large building, formerly occupied by the 'Recollets,' is now converted into a barrack. When the British became masters here, any addition to the number of monks was prohibited; and the various establishments of this kind became gradually extinct.

It is apparent to every visitor, that no physical restraint is placed upon the inmates of the convents. The doors and the windows are all open, and the buildings, for the most part, form three sides of an open court, through which they all walk in passing from one part of the establishment to another. That there is however a moral restraint, and that of a very powerful kind, admits not of a doubt. To forsake a nunnery after having taken the vows, is an abomination of the deepest dye; and were a poor creature to meditate such a step, to whom could she flee for shelter? Her parents would shut their doors against her;

her relations would regard her as worse than a heretic; her priest would fulminate his anathemas against her; and her name would be 'cast out as evil.' An alien from society, branded with infamy and reproach, she might seek for pity, but there is too much reason to fear that she would find none.

There are two academical institutions in Montreal, both connected with the Romish church. 'The Seminary,' founded in 1657, and the 'New College.' The course of education is said to be very complete, extending from the most elementary departments of learning, to some of the most abstruse branches of philosophy and mathematics. The French language is the medium of communication. The number of students at these seminaries is said to be between two and three hundred; and the dress is to be seen upon boys of tender years, as well as upon men of pretty mature age. The education which is afforded is not exclusively with a view to ecclesiastical purposes; but the two seminaries, with one of a similar kind at Quebec, are the only sources from which a supply of clergymen for the Romish church is provided.

These academies, although in many respects useful, tend grievously to perpetuate the French language and Romish religion in the province, and consequently to prevent the thorough amalgamation of its French inhabitants, with those of British descent. There could scarcely be a wiser legislative measure than the establishment of an English

college, on a liberal scale and unrestricted system. A gentleman of the name of M'Gill, who died in 1814, bequeathed £10,000, and some heritable property, to be devoted to the foundation of such an establishment; hitherto however little, if any thing, has been done to carry his will into effect, and as the property if not so appropriated within ten years after his death, reverts to his heirs, I fear that there is some danger of the devise being ultimately abortive.

The principal French church is open throughout the whole week, from an early hour till late in the evening; and a number of Canadians may at all times be seen, kneeling and muttering prayers before the altars, of which there are four or five. Around the sides of the church are several confessionals, where you see others upon their knees whispering through a grating, behind which the priest is seated.

The external appearance of this church is exceedingly plain. The roof and spire are covered with tin; and a cypher formed by a union of the letters A and M, appears on various places, which is to be interpreted 'Ave Maria.' The interior is gaudy and glittering in the extreme, and around the walls are several pictures, a few of which are apparently of considerable merit. The church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, of whom a pretty large statue occupies a recess immediately above the principal altar. Encircling this altar are four

d Corinthian columns, supporting a semi-
ılar frieze and cornice, from which springs a
l work, terminated by a large French crown;
vhole glowing in bright green and gold. Up-
he altar are as usual a crucifix, large candle-
s, and bouquets of artificial flowers; before it,
ended from the roof, is a small oil lamp, which
pt perpetually burning. On both sides of the
ted platform on which the altar stands, are
for some of the higher orders of the clergy.
the left side, considerably elevated, is a huge
ifix of barbarous workmanship.

ıave frequently stepped into this church to see
was going forward. One day lately I learned
two new bells were to be placed in the steeple,
that preparatory to this they were to be bap-
! This was a sight not to be missed, and I
rdingly took care to be in the church at the
appointed. The bells were suspended near
entre of the church, from a temporary wooden
ion, and near them were a table and some
s. Soon after we had assembled, a door near
ıpper end of the church was thrown open, and
issued a procession of priests, preceded by
boys in white robes carrying a pair of enor-
s candles, in candlesticks of corresponding di-
ions, and two behind carrying a little silver ves-
f oil, and water in a silver vase. The priests
variously attired, some in black, others in white,
a few in gorgeous robes of silk and gold.

The boys placed the candlesticks on the table near the bells, and the priests bestowed themselves in the chairs around the table, or on the seats which surrounded the principal altar; prayers were then chanted, after which an old ecclesiastic in white ascended the pulpit, and addressed the congregation in a pretty long French oration. My knowledge of the language was too limited to admit of my fully understanding the old gentleman's address, but I was informed by those who did, that it was intended to impress the minds of his auditors with the solemnity of the approaching ceremony; and I doubt not that he thought we much needed some such admonition, for the aspect of the congregation was by no means very devout. There was a great crowd present, and with many, as with myself, curiosity seemed to be the most active principle, for they scrambled upon the tops of the pews, and pushed one another so tumultuously, that the old priest twice stopped his address to rebuke us, and on one occasion clapped his hands very angrily, and threatened to suspend the ceremony. I must in justice add, that a great number of the auditors were not Canadians.

Descending from the rostrum, he was invested with a robe of gaudier colours, and having pronounced a solemn benediction upon the water in the vase, he dipped a brush in it and made the sign of the cross upon each bell, inside and out; accompanying it with the solemn words, "In nomine

Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti!" Other two then set to work, and completed what he had begun, brushing the bells all over; and then with snow-white towels wiping them both dry. Some oil was then consecrated, with which the sign of the cross was made on a variety of places on each bell, and then carefully wiped dry with a little cotton wool. A silver censer with live coals was next produced, into which some incense was thrown; and after being waved three times in the air, it was held under each bell till they were quite filled with the odorous fumes.

Two old gentlemen and their venerable spouses now came forward, and one pair was stationed at each bell. These were the Godfathers and Godmothers of the new members of the holy church; and after having answered some questions to the satisfaction of the priests, they had the honour of bestowing names on their Godchildren. This, it seems, is an honour which is much coveted, and is only conceded to those who are both able and willing to pay handsomely for the distinction. The oldest priest now took hold of the clapper, and tolled each bell three times, which was immediately repeated by each of the sponsors. The old couples now produced presents for their bantlings; first a large roll of linen for each bell, which was swathed round it by the officiating priests; then rolls of crimson silk, one of which was richly figured, succeeded by lace or fringes, and

the whole was bound on by a plentiful allowance of white silk riband. The ceremony was now wound up by a short prayer or two chanted by the priests, when the large candlesticks were again elevated, and the whole fraternity retired as they had entered.

Popery has fallen so much into the back ground in our native country, that many are probably not aware of the existence of such a ceremony; it is however regularly performed to all church bells in Popish countries, before they take their stations in the belfry, and without it they would be considered as quite unqualified to fulfil the high functions which devolve upon them; one of the most important of which is the ringing of souls out of purgatory. All-Saints' day, as it is called, came round during my present visit, when the bells had their hands full of work. In the afternoon of that day, all may ring who please, and the poor ignorant people are taught to believe that their pulling lustily will materially benefit the souls of deceased friends who are undergoing lustration. I stepped into the church in the evening, after the public services were over; there was no light except from the glimmering of the small oil lamp before the altar, but it served to show a number of Canadians on their knees, and a coffin near the entrance, elevated upon a grim scaffold, garnished like our hearses with sculls and crossed bones. This was intended as a symbol of the departed

state, to aid dull imaginations and stimulate devotional feelings. Next day, and for several succeeding ones, a board was suspended on the door of another church, inscribed, 'Indulgence plenière pour les Morts,' and I was informed that whoever during these days, confessed to a priest, should have forty days remission after death of the pains of purgatory.

I have seen no Popish processions except a funeral; I missed by a few days the grand ceremony of the 'Fête Dieu,' which is annually celebrated with great splendour.

The Romish clergy are the *seigneurs*, or superiors, of the whole of the island of Montreal; and on every purchase, or alienation of landed property, a twelfth part of the amount of the purchase money is exigible by them. Usage allows a deduction of a fourth of this for prompt payment, and it is reported that protestant proprietors frequently exact from the priests a considerably larger discount. The ecclesiastics indeed are generally said to be very moderate in enforcing their legal rights, and so far as I have heard they live on very friendly terms with their protestant vassals.

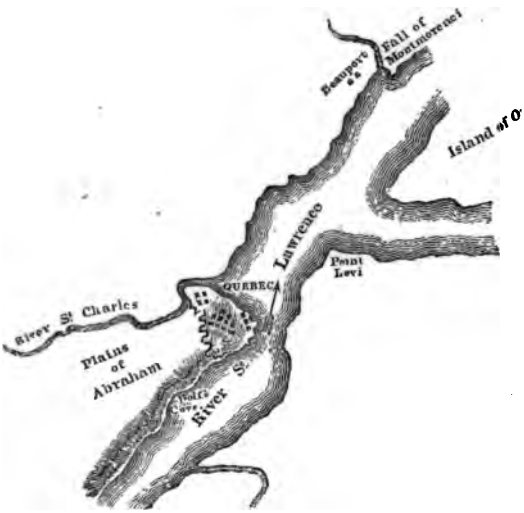
There are four protestant places of worship in Montreal; but I shall delay farther reference to them, till I can include those of Quebec.

As to the society of Montreal and the style of living which prevails, strangers are very likely to differ somewhat in their opinions. If you enjoy good eating, card playing, dancing, music, and

gayety, you will find abundance of all. If literary society is your choice, you will discover I am afraid but little; and if religious, still less. I was particularly struck with the extent to which card playing and the dice-box abound; they seem indeed to be almost the only resource in an evening party, if it is not professedly a dancing one. That the citizens of Montreal are hospitable and kind in their attention to a stranger, I bear my willing and most grateful testimony; but unless the traveller is prepared to enjoy such expedients for recreation, he must lay his account with being occasionally somewhat singular in company.

The literature of the city may be estimated by the fact, that there is at present but one book shop in it, whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability; a few others are to be found with Romish prayer books, and monkish legends, but their shelves can boast of little else except a few articles of stationary. We cannot expect that the demand for books here can be at all equal to that at home, or even in the United States; among the great majority of the Canadians none but a few of the females are able to read. And of the British residents the greater part are eagerly intent upon the acquisition of wealth, and in general anticipate a return to their native country to spend it; and if in their hours of intermission from other pursuits, they can glance at a novel, or a fashionable poem, it is all that in most cases is attempted

LETTER XVII.


Fall of Montmorenci
Island of O
Lawrence
Point Levi
QUEBEC
River St Charles
Plains of Abraham
St

LETTER XVII.

ST. LAWRENCE—STEAM BOATS—SOREL—LAKE ST. PETER—THREE RIVERS—RICHELIEU RAPID—RIVER JACQUES CARTIER—CAPE ROUGE—RIVER CHAUDIERE—PLAINS OF ABRAHAM—WOLFE'S COVE—QUEBEC—LOWER TOWN—UPPER TOWN—STREETS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS—LEGISLATIVE BODIES—URSULINE CONVENT—BEAUPORT—FALL OF MONTMORENCI—SAW-MILL—WINTER VISIT TO A NEW SETTLEMENT IN THE WOODS—HARDSHIPS OF EMIGRANTS—FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC—RELIGION IN CANADA—SERMONS.

Quebec, November, 1818.

FROM Montreal to Quebec the distance is 180 miles, and till within these few years the customary mode of travelling was by calashes, along the bank of the river, where there was a regular establishment of post houses under government regulation. There are now several steam boats of a very large size employed between the two cities, and I have made two passages in the 'Car of Commerce,' one of the most modern and most elegant.[1] The fare

[1] The Car of Commerce measures about 600 tons, and yet has only one engine of about 60 horse power. Her shortest passage down the river was performed in 16¼ hours including stoppages, her shortest up in 28. On one occasion she took up 1360 emigrants from Quebec to Montreal; the fare paid by each was two dollars, making in all £612 sterling for a single trip. It is said that three births took place on board, between the one port and the other.

including provisions is 10 dollars, £2, 5s. sterling, down the river, and 12 dollars, £2, 14s. sterling, up; the difference is occasioned by the increased length of time which it usually requires to stem the current.

The steam boats on the St. Lawrence convey goods as well as passengers, and it is probable that they will soon supersede almost entirely the arrival of square rigged vessels at Montreal. There are some strong rapids between the two cities, and the passage must always be uncertain, and often tedious, to vessels that are entirely dependent on the force of the wind; it has even on some occasions been known to consume more time than the crossing of the Atlantic. It is now becoming common for vessels from Britain to discharge their cargoes into a steam boat at Quebec, by which they are brought up to Montreal in two or three days.

The banks of the river below Montreal are flat and uninteresting; a little village appears here and there with its tin-covered steeple, but in general the white-washed houses of the *habitans* are scattered individually at pretty regular intervals along the shore.

About forty-five miles below Montreal, on the right, the river Sorell flows into the St. Lawrence, and upon its eastern shore is the town of William Henry, formerly called Sorell. Here our steam boat stopped to receive a supply of fire-wood. The town is a dull looking place, built principally of wood, and originally peopled by loyalists who left

the United States at the revolution, and by a few disbanded soldiers.

The Sorell is the outlet of lake Champlain, and were it possible to render it navigable by vessels of considerable size, it would afford a most convenient means of commercial intercourse with the interior of the State of New York, and form a direct chain of communication with the great western canals. For the present, however, it is only passed by small open boats and rafts of timber; rapids and shallows begin within fourteen miles of its mouth, and continue with little intermission to the village of St. John's near lake Champlain. It is remarkable that the Sorell, unlike most rivers, contracts very considerably as it approaches its outlet. At St. John's the channel is more than 500 yards wide, which gradually diminishes towards the basin of Chambly, and after issuing from it, the average width is not more than 250 yards.

Immediately below William Henry, a whole archipelago of islands are scattered in the stream, dividing the river into a multitude of channels. Issuing from among them we enter lake St. Peter, one of those expansions which are so common in American rivers. This one is about twenty miles long, and from seven to ten broad. Extensive shallows run along both shores, and contribute very much to preserve that smoothness on the surface which harmonizes with our usual ideas of a lake.

About ten miles below its termination we reach

the town of Three Rivers, upon the left hand bank, at the mouth of the river St. Maurice, and receiving its name from the triple channel which is formed by two small islands at the confluence of its waters with the St. Lawrence. This town is about 96 miles from Quebec, and of course very nearly half way between it and Montreal. It ranks as the third town in Lower Canada, but is comparatively of small extent, containing only between two and three thousand inhabitants. From an iron foundry at Three Rivers excellent castings are produced; and I was surprised to hear at Montreal, that the stoves which are manufactured here, are thought to endure the heat better than those cast at Carron. I had no opportunity of landing, but the aspect of the town from the water is drowsy and inactive; without any of that bustle and animation which characterize the little towns upon the Hudson. It is impossible indeed not to remark, that the banks of the two rivers are peopled by an essentially different race of men;—the one of habits altogether hereditary and monotonous, content to pace along in the footsteps of their forefathers; the other restless and adventurous almost to a proverb, buying and selling, shipping and importing, settling and emigrating, as if quicksilver instead of blood were dancing through their veins.

About forty miles below Three Rivers, the channel contracts rather suddenly into less than a half of its average width, and produces a rapid of consid-

able extent, called the Richelieu. Although the elocity of the current is materially increased, the gitation of the water is very trifling when com- ared with that of the rapids between Prescott nd Montreal. Numerous rocks, however, increase he difficulties of the navigation, and the steam boats eldom attempt the passage except in day light.[2]

A few miles below the Richelieu rapid, we pass n the left the mouth of the river Jacques Cartier, o called after the name of the first European who xplored the navigation of the St. Lawrence; he id up his vessels at the mouth of this stream dur- g the winter of 1536. The Jacques Cartier is a ountain torrent, dashing from rock to rock with uch unvarying impetuosity, that it is only on de- ached portions here and there that even a canoe an venture on it. The banks are in general rug- ed and precipitous; and so impracticable in many laces, that the French after losing Quebec, in 1759, hose its western bank as a favourable position for making a final stand against their conquerors.

The left bank of the St. Lawrence begins gradu- ally to rise soon after passing Three Rivers, and within a few miles of Quebec they become on both sides lofty and precipitous. About seven miles

[2] The Car of Commerce was twice unfortunate in this neighbour- hood, while I was on board. In the passage up the river in June, she ran down a schooner in the night time, loaded with grain, in which a woman was lost; and going down in November, the Captain fell down a hatchway during the night, and had an arm broken.

above Quebec we pass the commencement of Cape Rouge on the left, so called from the reddish colour of its rocky brow; and a mile below, on the right, the mouth of the river Chaudiere, where in the summer season vessels are almost always to be seen taking in cargoes of timber.

Quebec now comes partially into view, occupying the extremity of the promontory upon our left; its fortifications fringing the edge of the rocky cliff, 340 feet above the bed of the river.

To understand correctly the position of Quebec, you must keep in mind what has been stated as to the gradually increased elevation of the left bank of the St. Lawrence. Though rocky and precipitous, however, towards the river, the summit of the right hand bank is remarkably flat, for several miles above Quebec; and upon this elevated table land are the far-famed plains of Abraham, where Montcalm and Wolfe both breathed their last. The highest part of these plains is close by the bank of the St. Lawrence; from which the ground inclines with a gentle slope, and afterwards a more precipitous descent, towards the bank of another river called the St. Charles. The St. Charles comes down from the northern hills, and flows for a time nearly at right angles to the St. Lawrence; it then makes a pretty abrupt bend towards the east, and gradually inclines downward, till the two streams unite before the rocky cape upon which Quebec stands. The city is thus surrounded with water on all but one side.

Except on the side adjoining to the plains, the position of Quebec is so strong, that the city has scarcely any need of fortification. The bare rock upon whose semicircular verge it stands, is in general perfectly precipitous, and so high that escalade is totally impracticable. In other places the approaches are so steep and difficult, that it may almost be said of each,

> "A single man might hold the post
> With hardihood against a host."

A few batteries and other defences complete the security of these; but on the land side, nature has done nothing for its safety, and there the fortifications are elaborate and stupendous.

Wolfe landed his troops at a little indentation of the bank, rather more than a mile above the city, now known by the name of Wolfe's cove. Here, about an hour after midnight, the troops scrambled up the woody brow of the hill; by a narrow path which even now, and in good day light, would seem to present sufficient difficulties to a pretty zealous mineralogist. Having succeeded in gaining the heights he formed his troops, and awaited the attack of Montcalm, who collected his forces, and marched against him about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The result is memorable—both the commanders fell, the French were defeated, and on the sixth day after, Quebec capitulated.

The appearance of Quebec, as you approach it

by the steam boat, is very imposing. The banks for some little distance above Wolfe's cove are covered with brushwood, and on the beach below white houses are scattered at short intervals. The fortifications of the city come gradually into prospect;—first are seen two of the Martello towers, which like gigantic sentinels keep watch over the celebrated plains; then the redoubts around the citadel on the summit of Cape Diamond, slowly develop their strength; embrasures, cannon, and loop holes, successively presenting themselves. Over one battery appears the mast and yard of a telegraph; and close to the brow of the steep rock, 345 feet above the waters of the river, is the flag-staff and banner of the citadel. At the very bottom of the steep, and apparently covering the very scanty portion of ground which is saved from the encroachment of the river, are the numerous buildings of the lower town of Quebec, with the wharfs which have been projected into the stream, and vessels of various kinds crowding around them. On the right hand bank, and a little lower than the city, Point Levi, covered with buildings, and sloping up more gradually from the river, stretches out so as considerably to contract the channel. Before you is the ample bay, four miles in length, with the island of Orleans for its back ground, while to the right and left and all around are numerous merchantmen, and an occasional man-of-war; some of them recently from

the ports of Britain, and others waiting a wind to waft them to its shores.

The tide rises at the harbour about seventeen feet in common tides, and twenty-three in spring tides; and in disembarking at the wharfs, it is sometimes necessary to ascend by a sloping plank forty or fifty feet long. When ashore the traveller remarks the contrast presented by the lower town of Quebec, to the usual aspect of an American sea-port. The streets are very narrow, and crowded with high stone houses; numerous cars drive furiously along between the granaries and the wharfs, the carmen standing in their vehicles, and scolding in loud and angry French when their progress is stopped at the corner of a narrow pass. The foot path is in general very dirty, from the almost constant filtration of water from the rock above; and the jolting of comers and goers so constant and annoying, that none but those who have business to detain them, are likely to spend much time in the lower town.

.To men in trade however, this is the nucleus of Quebec; the Exchange, the Custom House, the banking offices, with the counting houses, stores, and granaries, of the principal merchants, are all collected in close juxtaposition, into a few narrow streets, or rather lanes, which encircle the bottom of the rocky precipice, and intervene between it and the river. The greater part of the ground upon which the lower town stands, has been

gained by encroachment upon the channel of the St. Lawrence, and the same process is still going forward to extend the habitable limits;—a considerable addition has been made since the period of my first visit, and the end of a street has been opened which stretches round towards the river St. Charles. Beyond the town in this direction, is an extensive sandy beach, part of which is occupied by slips for ship building.

The approach from the lower to the upper town, is by Mountain street, as it is most appropriately named, lying in a kind of natural cleft in the brow of the precipice. This street, after crossing for a time the face of the hill, like a sheep walk, makes an angular turn, and goes right up the acclivity, where the ascent is least precipitous. At a little distance to the left, as you slowly ascend the street, is seen the castle of St. Louis, an extensive building erected at the very edge of a precipice more than two hundred feet high; it may indeed be said to go beyond its edge, for the outer front is supported upon an arched piazza of mason work, more than half the height of the building, the pillars of which go considerably down the brow of the rock. On the top of this piazza is an extensive gallery, commanding a fine view of the bay and the surrounding country. The castle of St. Louis was one of the early French fortifications; and the various massy buildings which they have left behind them, abundantly manifest the settled purpose

of the earlier occupants of Quebec, to maintain their position. The warlike character of this castle has now passed away, and it is reserved for the residence of the Governor.

On the right side of Mountain street the bare rock, for part of the way, frowns over the spectator's head; near the top is the Bishop's palace, as it is still called, although now occupied by the legislative bodies. The street is terminated by the Prescott gate, where a wide archway gives admittance to carriages, and a postern beside it accommodates foot passengers. This gate, as being the most accessible point of attack from the lower town, is defended by heavy cannon, and loop holes for musketry, while the whole of Mountain street is commanded both in front and flank by various batteries.

Within the gate the carriage way makes a circuit to the right, to gain by a gradual rise the summit level, while to the left is an extensive flight of wooden steps for pedestrians. On the platform within the gate a sentinel is stationed, who after sun-set challenges every passenger. This is however in peaceful times a mere matter of form; the gate is never shut, and every one who answers "a friend," is permitted to pass.

Having gained the top of the flight of steps, your back is turned upon the lower town, your right hand is towards the St. Charles, and your left towards the citadel on the summit of Cape

Diamond. The ground both in the city and c the plain, is highest upon the side of the St. Law rence. Substantial stone buildings line the street on both sides, not so lofty however as those in th lower town. Proceeding onward, you pass on th right the French cathedral, a very plain buildin with a tin-covered spire, and at a little distance o the left is seen the spire of the English cathedra similarly covered. The Jesuits' college, now use as a barrack, next attracts notice; it is a mass building, fronting you as you advance, forming hollow square of very considerable extent; th public market is held in an extensive open ar opposite the barrack, and around it are numero retail shops and taverns. You are now about th centre of the upper town.

Although the upper town of Quebec is cle and airy in comparison of the lower, the stre wider, and better paved, and the situation as place of residence certainly much more desirab yet there is not much in its appearance to inter a stranger, who has seen the more splendid cit of our native country. A few days however n be very agreeably spent in visiting the legislat assemblies if in session, in inspecting some of public institutions, in examining the fortificatio and in making excursions to the plains of Ab ham, the fall of Montmorenci, and some of other interesting scenery around.

The House of Assembly, and Legislative Co

cil, I had no opportunity of visiting. The former corresponds to our House of Commons; the latter, so far as circumstances admit, to the House of Peers, or rather perhaps to the Privy Council.

The House of Assembly consists of about fifty members, the majority of whom at present, with the Speaker, are of the Romish faith; the debates of the house are generally conducted in French. The events of the last war gave ample opportunity for a display of popular feeling in the acts of this assembly, and as their constituents enjoy almost universal suffrage, the voice of the assembly is an accurate index to that of the people. The result, in every instance, evinced on the part of the native Canadians a most ardent attachment to the government under which they live; and a zealous determination to strengthen the hands of administration, in every measure that tended to secure the integrity of the British possessions.[3] The Canadians have indeed shown, both during the war and since its termination, that they have appreciated the value, and imbibed the spirit, of the constitution which Britain has bestowed upon them; and I am fully persuaded that his Majesty has no-

[3] See an able account of the "Political State of Lower Canada, &c. with Memoirs of the administration of Sir Gordon Drummond, and Sir John Coape Sherbrooke; by Robert Christie of Quebec;" published in New York in 1818. The author of this work has also published a spirited narrative of the military operations in Canada, during last war;—this work was, even by Americans, esteemed upon the whole candid and impartial.

where a more thoroughly loyal class of subjects.[4] It is yet scarcely seventy years since the province was captured from the French; yet the attachment of the people to their former masters seems as completely obliterated as if centuries had intervened, or as if the change had taken place in consequence of their own choice, rather than by the fortune of war.[5]

The Legislative Council consists of between twenty and thirty individuals, who are named by the crown and hold their office for life. In this body English feeling and interest has generally predominated, and they and the House of Assembly

[4] A recent traveller (Miss Wright,) has spoken of Canadian loyalty as being merely hatred to the heretical Americans, infused into the minds of the people by the priests. Had Canada been under the dominion of Spain, instead of Britain, there might have been some plausibility in this theory; but so far as I can judge, the Canadians care as little about the heresy of the one people, as of the other.

[5] Professor Silliman of Yale College published, in 1820, a narrative of a Tour to Montreal and Quebec, which is characterized by all the intelligence, liberality, and conciliatory spirit, which are so conspicuous in his Travels through Great Britain. I have much pleasure in transcribing his remarks upon the government of Canada. "It is questionable whether any conquered country," says he, "was ever better treated by its conquerors. They were left in complete possession of their religion, and of the revenues to support it, of their property, laws, customs and manners; and even the very governing and defending their country is almost without expense to them. It is doubtful whether our own favoured communities are politically more happy." *Tour between Hartford and Quebec, pp.* 364, 5.

have been frequently at open war with each other. Under the judicious administration however of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, much was done to allay party feeling, and remove irritation.[6]

Among the institutions connected with the Romish church, are a Seminary, very similar in its management to the one at Montreal, the Hôtel Dieu, a convent for the reception of the diseased poor, conducted by a Mère Superieure, and thirty-two nuns; and the convent of the Ursulines, containing a Superieure and forty-five nuns, who devote themselves principally to the education of female children.

The Ursulines are said to be more rigid in their seclusion than any other nuns in Canada, and it was not without some difficulty that a friend procured me permission to visit their convent. This difficulty however was partly occasioned by the absence of Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec, who is in general not unwilling to gratify the curiosity of strangers.

The convent of the Ursulines, like most of the religious houses which were erected by the French, is built in the form of a hollow square. Connected with it is a small chapel, which is open to the public; but a curtain suspended behind a

[6] A bill has been introduced in the present Session of the Imperial Parliament, to abolish the separation which since 1791 has existed between the local governments of Upper and Lower Canada. (1821.)

large grating conceals the nuns from the vulgar gaze.

At the principal door of the convent there is an open porch, with a barrel exactly similar to that which I saw at Fayal by which alms are dispensed to the poor.

On ringing the bell for admittance, this barrel was whirled half way round, so as to leave a small opening, and three nuns appeared within to whom we handed the order for our admittance. They told us, however, that Père D—— was at that moment in the chapel, hearing confession, and that they should be obliged to detain us without, till he returned.

In a few minutes his reverence made his appearance, having entered the convent by a private passage; the door was then unlocked, and we were admitted. The Mère Superieure was waiting to receive us; a jolly, fresh looking woman, rather above the ordinary height, of a dignified carriage, and apparently about thirty-five or forty years of age. We had no sooner exchanged bows with the ladies, than the usual question was put to me by the Mère Superieure, "Parlez vous Français, Monsieur?" Finding however that I was rather lame at this, she frankly waved ceremony and addressed me in English, which she spoke so well, that I could not help suspecting that she was of an English family.

We were conducted first into the room in which the nuns hear the services of the chapel; a plain

apartment, with an altar and a few pictures. From it we were taken into a kind of a parlour, where all the *religieuses*, except those who were engaged in the school-rooms, were waiting to receive us. They were ranged in line opposite the door, and immediately on our entering, bowed and smiled most graciously, and without the slightest appearance of formality or demureness. At one end of the row were four interesting young creatures wearing white veils; these were in their noviciate, and Père D—— informed us that they wore the white veil two years, before assuming the vows and the black one. Beside them were three who had been invested with the black veil only a few weeks before; had I visited Quebec a little sooner, I might have witnessed the ceremony, for it is always public. I was told that these three girls were only from eighteen to twenty-four years of age; they seemed not at all dull, but laughed and talked as good humouredly as any. The four novices seemed to be the only demure individuals among the whole, they bowed to us like the rest, but relaxed not a muscle of their countenances.

The dress of the Ursulines is dismal in the extreme. A long black robe of bombasin with very wide sleeves; a black veil tied round the forehead and thrown back over the shoulder; a piece of stiff starched linen covering the breast, and tied down by strings passing under the arms; the forehead hid by a piece of linen which covers to the

eye-brows, and a corresponding bandage brought down under the chin, so as to conceal the ears and part of both cheeks;—all that is elegant and graceful in the female figure is thus completely concealed, and the poor creatures are in shape and colour not very unlike so many walking coffins. Some of them wore a leathern belt at the waist, with a rosary and cross hanging from it. The dress of the novices differs in nothing from that of the others, excepting the colour of the veil; which, by the way, is not made use of to conceal the features, but is in all cases thrown back over the shoulders. The aspect of the nuns was more interesting than that of the Sœurs Gris at Montreal. Some of the young ones might I dare say have been thought pretty, had they worn a less ghastly dress; a few of the others had something of the grandmother aspect, but some, and the Mère Superieure in particular, had pleasing features and a lady-like deportment.

About half a dozen of the nuns accompanied us from room to room, each of whom showed the utmost inclination to enter into conversation with us. We saw three school rooms, all full of neatly dressed girls at their tasks, with two nuns in each as teachers; two of these were devoted to the children of the poorer classes, who are educated for a very small annual sum, the other was for the daughters of those who could afford to pay more liberally. Whenever we entered, the whole rose from their

seats and courtesied, continuing to stand till we left the room. In passing from one room to another we were conducted through a pretty extensive garden; the wall which surrounds it is not high, and were the Sisters disposed to make off, it would present no serious obstacle.

From the schools we were conducted to the kitchen and dining hall. The kitchen has a pump-well within it, and the chimney is of ample size, somewhat resembling those of an old baronial castle. The dining hall is floored with bricks of an octagon shape, and covered with a kind of red varnish which they told us was cow's blood. Long tables of deal surround the hall, with a drawer for each individual, containing a knife, fork, and spoon; all exceedingly clean and neat. Two of the nuns, in succession, wait upon the others. Passing through a gallery, which led I believe to sleeping apartments, I remarked over each of the doors an inscription in French; one of them, "Pour un moment de travail, une eternité de repos." Before taking leave, some little ornaments of neatly wrought bark-work, were exhibited to us, of which I purchased one or two.

We had been about an hour within, when a bell rang, which Père D—— gave us to understand was the signal for our departure. The nuns conducted us to the door, which I attempted to open, but found it locked; the Superieure before producing the key joked very good humouredly at the unusual

situation in which we found ourselves! The parting was as courteous and polite as could well be; we did not indeed shake hands, but no ladies could have pronounced a more affable and unceremonious 'Bon jour, Messieurs! Bon jour!'

The Ursulines have a revenue from the rent of land, besides what they receive for the instruction of the children. These sources of income however are not adequate to their support, and the garden, their needle-work, and the baking of pastry, complete the items in their ways and means.

One could almost wonder what can be the motives which impel these poor creatures to choose such a life; and how it should be so easy to keep up the number of *religieuses*, without the possibility of compulsory means. But the Romish religion is the most powerful engine of proselytism that has ever been devised; and auricular confession gives the priests such a power over the superstitious fears of their flocks, that when this is not counteracted by the natural and acquired advantages of shrewdness and education, for scriptural knowledge is of course out of the question, there is scarcely any degree of folly or guilt to which their spiritual advisers cannot, if they are so inclined, persuade them. If parents wish one of their daughters to become a nun, they have only to procure the co-operation of the confessor, and it is next to impossible but that they will succeed. Parental authority, combined with the threatened displeasure of the Almighty,

nd the terrors of purgatory; aided also by the in-
luence of example, and the allurements of reputed
nctity, will be fearful odds against a poor girl's
nclination to social life; and if she is left to main-
in the conflict single-handed, there can be little
hance of her ultimate success.

In all probability however this system of terror
not often resorted to; the nuns themselves find
lenty of recruits. They have perhaps a hundred or
hundred and fifty girls, of various ages, attending
neir school, some of whom are boarders, and of
ourse almost completely secluded from other soci-
ty. While conducting their education they na-
urally win the affections of the children—teach
hem to think as they think, and to adopt those
pinions of the world and its affairs which are pre-
alent in the nunnery. The quietness, and pro-
ably the harmony of the establishment, become at-
ractive to the children; and the false but delusive
rinciples with which the system is identified, com-
ine to influence their decision. Those who assume
he white veil are of course eulogized, and their
xample recommended;—the contagion spreads;
arly friendship among the girls themselves in-
reases the number of the votaries, and celibacy
nd seclusion become as ardent a subject of youth-
ul desire in some breasts, as fashion and gayety
re in others. In a family which I have frequently
isited, one of the daughters, a lively and engag-
ng girl about eleven or twelve, was pointed out

to me by her brother as intended for a nun. She spent the greater part of every day in one of the nunneries, and spoke of it herself as the object of her inclination. Whether her parents were in earnest upon the subject, or not, I cannot tell; but one of her aunts is a nun, and I think it not improbable that she may follow her example.

Whether they ever *rue*, to use a most expressive Scotish word, after the final vows have been taken, it is not easy to ascertain. Probably the greater number do not; but I cannot believe but that some regret what they cannot annul. If the determination has arisen from some sudden and perhaps unpremeditated cause, time will probably recall early associations, and excite pangs equally acute and unavailing. How pitiable must be the lot of a poor girl in such circumstances! I cannot say that I have seen any thing absolutely to confirm this idea; but from a few words of conversation, which one of the gentlemen with me had with a young looking nun in the Ursuline Convent, I am inclined to believe that she secretly wished herself out of it. So far as a good humoured laugh and cheerful words went, we had every reason to suppose the inmates perfectly happy and contented; but he knows little of mental suffering who is not aware, that

> "As a beam o'er the face of the water may glow,
> While the stream runs in darkness and coldness below;
> So the cheek may be tinged with a warm sunny smile,
> Though the cold heart to ruin runs darkly the while!"

A visit to the fall of the Montmorenci about :ven miles from Quebec is a favourite excursion, nd to those who have not seen the falls of Nia- ara it must be an object of much interest.

Leaving the city by St. John's gate, and crossing he St. Charles, the traveller takes the road which asses along the beach of the St. Lawrence. Ex- ensive meadows, apparently of very rich land, tretch along to the left; to the right for some dis- ance is the ample bay, then the northern channel f the St. Lawrence, and beyond it the island of Orleans. About three miles from Quebec he pas- es through the village of Beauport, where the ground begins gradually to rise. Beauport contains bout seventy or eighty houses, many of which are f stone, and a Romish church with three tin-cov- red spires. Close by the village a small river, of he same name, crosses into the St. Lawrence, and n its banks are a distillery, flour, and flax-seed-oil nills. The ground now rises rapidly, to an eleva- ion of between two and three hundred feet above he St. Lawrence.

The Montmorenci is a mountain stream, of small limensions when compared to the mighty flood nto whose bosom it flows; but in our own country, here rivers are on so much smaller a scale, it ould be esteemed of considerable importance. 'or a short way above the fall, the bed of the river lopes very much, and urges the current into great apidity before it is precipitated from the cliff. The

height of the fall is usually said to be 240 f had no means of trying the accuracy of this mate, but to judge from its impression upo eye, I should not have been disposed to rate nearly so much. It is however a very fine ca The water breaks into foam at the very top descends in a broad stream of most snowy w ness, sending up from below great colum spray.

Below is a spacious semicircular basin of siderable extent, surrounded by steep and banks, within which the water becomes smoot tranquil before flowing into the St. Lawr The brow of the eastern bank is thickly wo but on the west a considerable part of the has been cut down. The bed of the river is c and very hard rock; on each bank a superstr of lime stone is seen, through which the rive pears to have worn its channel.[7]

The hand of indefatigable man has of late important changes here. Mr. Paterson, the e prizing proprietor of the neighbouring ground erected a very large saw-mill upon the bank o St. Lawrence; and to drive the immense w

[7] The river Chaudiere, about seven miles above Quebec, celebrated for its falls, but as I had not time to visit them I the following from Professor Silliman's volume. "The Chauc a river of considerable magnitude, but owing to its numerous falls, and various obstructions, it is scarcely navigable even for c It rises from lake Megantic near the American territory: its g

which gives motion to his saws, he has diverted a portion of the water of the Montmorenci, from above the fall, and conducted it by a winding course down the slope of the hill. This must have been a work of prodigious labour, and great expense. To effect the desired object, a passage six or seven feet in height, and five feet wide, was excavated through the solid rock, leaving above it from ten to twelve feet of rock, from which a sluice hangs down to regulate the admission of the water. The declivity of the hill is so great, that much art was necessary to moderate the impetuosity of the current, in its progress towards the wheel. At first Mr. Paterson tried a serpentine channel, dug

width is from four hundred to six hundred yards, and its course is more than one hundred miles long. The banks are in general high, rocky and steep.—Salient points of rock at the falls, narrow the river so much, that its breadth is not more than four hundred feet, and the descent is estimated at one hundred and thirty. Enormous masses of rock lie on the shore, contiguous to the falls, and by similar masses the cataract is divided into three parts, which re-unite before they plunge into the abyss at the bottom. The cataract is grand, and wild, and turbulent; roaring and dashing and foaming over its irregular barrier—current encountering current, and all plunging into a restless whirlpool, boiling with incessant agitation; hence undoubtedly its French name, signifying the pot or boiling cauldron. The falls of the Chaudiere are by many considered as superior to that of Montmorenci; but though vastly grander on account of their width, and the great quantity of water, they did not strike us as having such *peculiar beauties*, and as differing so much from common cataracts. That of Montmorenci, is probably without a parallel in North America." *Tour between Hartford and Quebec, pp.* 254, 5, 6.

in the soil, but the prodigious force of the stream undermined the banks, and would soon have swept away a large portion of the surface; he was therefore obliged to place within the channel a strong wooden race-course, in which it is conducted, in a zig-zag direction, down the brow of the hill, till near the bottom it enters the natural bed of a mountain rivulet, and is ultimately precipitated upon the float-boards of the large water-wheel.

The saw-mill which this stream sets in motion, is, I believe, one of the most extensive in America, and of course in the world. It is a large wooden building overhanging the edge of the St. Lawrence; and an inclined plane runs down from it into the stream, along which the logs of wood which are to be cut, are drawn up by machinery from the raft. The log after being cut into the intended length of the planks, is fixed into a frame, with the one end to the teeth of the saw, and by the machinery drawn forward upon the blades, till they have cut their way through to the other end. There are four saw frames, each of which is fitted with as many blades as are necessary to cut the desired number of planks out of the log. The saws rise and fall perpendicularly, with such velocity that a log twelve feet long is converted into planks in five minutes. The saw frames are made of the softest pine, for the friction is so great that harder wood could not be prevented from burning; when I saw them at

work they were smoking profusely, and in spite of all the care that is taken to keep them well greased, they sometimes kindle. In the spring and fall of the year prodigious rafts of timber are generally to be seen, in the river, in the neighbourhood of this mill; and vessels busily engaged in taking the planks and logs on board.

The heights of Montmorenci are celebrated as having been the position on which Wolfe made an unsuccessful attack, some days before landing at the Plains of Abraham. Mr Paterson, in cutting the channel of his mill-course, turned up a great many shot and shells of different dimensions. The French were entrenched upon the heights; and while a large body of British troops mounted the brow of the hill, and attempted to carry the works by storm, the vessels, to cover their attack, and divide the attention of the enemy, cannonaded the intrenchments from the river. The position of the French however was too strong for Wolfe's soldiers; between five and six hundred of the flower of his army were cut down, by the fire from the heights, and the attempt was abandoned.

A fine view of Quebec and the river, is obtained from the heights above the saw-mill. The northern half of the semicircular outline of the rocky promontory, and the declining banks towards the St. Charles, are fully exposed to view. There is a kind of depression on the upper surface of the nearest part of the rock on which the city stands, which

shows a considerable portion of the town; the tin-covered roofs rising as they recede, and the whole overtopped by the spires, the telegraph, and the flag-staff. Below the steep, is that part of the lower town which lies towards the St. Charles; the houses to the right scrambling, as it were, up a part of the acclivity. On the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence are the houses of Point Levi;—between them and the citadel is the course of the river towards Montreal, and the blue eminences which at a distance bound the prospect. Below, and to the left, is the fertile and well-wooded island of Orleans, while multitudes of vessels of every size crowd upon the view, part of them clustering thickly round the wharfs of the lower town, and others sprinkled here and there along the river.

The ride to Montmorenci was a summer excursion; I shall now present you with a winter one, from which I have just returned. The gentleman who procured me the introduction to the Ursuline Convent, has lately begun to clear some land upon the bank of the river Jacques Cartier, about eighteen miles from Quebec. Here he has stationed a farmer and his family, who have recently emigrated from Ayrshire; and a few days ago, he invited me to accompany him on a visit to them. The weather has been for some time broken and unpleasant, such as I understand is generally experienced here at the commencement of winter,

ain and snow, thaw and frost, following close upon ach other; although he warned me however that he road was bad, and that nine miles required to e performed on foot, through the woods, the desire of seeing the new settlement prevailed, and I agreed to bear him company.

We equipped ourselves for the expedition with Canadian moccassins, which had been previously saturated with fish oil; they are much easier for the feet than either boots or shoes, and have a flap which embraces the ancle, and is tied round it with a thong. Along with these we wore each two pairs of stockings. My companion bound a military sash round his waist, and I supplied the want of it with a silk handkerchief.

The first half of our journey, which we performed in a calash, was to the Indian village of Lorette, upon the bank of the St. Charles, about nine miles from Quebec. About 250 of the once powerful Huron tribe, have been long domiciliated here, and have adopted the religion, and to a considerable extent, the language of the French Canadians. There is a church in the village, and a priest resides near it, who it is said has considerable influence among the natives in preventing dissipation. He will not allow any of them to keep a tavern, but they are not prevented from affording travellers shelter and food, when they require it.

We drove to the door of Monsieur Etienne, one

of their chiefs, with whom my conductor was acquainted, and obtained from Madame a most comfortable basin of broth, very much resembling what we are so fond of in Scotland. Mingled sleet and rain had driven in our face all the way from Quebec, and I was already soaked to the skin; I therefore gladly availed myself of Madame Etienne's kitchen-fire to dry my coat.

The parlour in which the broth was served to us, was a pretty spacious room, with a stove, sofa, and the other usual articles of furniture. Two little bed-rooms opened from it, with sashed doors; the beds were hung with white curtains, the coverlets of white cotton, and all arranged with the utmost neatness. Every thing about the house was orderly and comfortable; it is exceedingly rare indeed to meet with a country inn, either in Canada or the United States, half so inviting in its aspect as this poor Huron's habitation. Monsieur Etienne is an old man, but vigorous and active; it was but lately that he returned from a hunting excursion, of more than a thousand miles into the woods. Madame appears to be considerably younger, she was employed embroidering moccassins; both speak French fluently. They retain the Indian shape of their garments, but the materials were of good broad cloth, and the lady wore a good many silver ornaments.

We were now to commence the walking part of our excursion, and engaged a young Indian to ac-

ompany us, named Paul, who carried our well-stocked wallet upon his back. The contents of the knapsack, however, were not all for our own use; my conductor was conveying with him some supplies for the larder of his settlers. Paul was a vigorous young man about six feet high, dressed in a frock coat, leggings and moccassins, with a hatchet stuck under his sash.

Our walk through the woods was fatiguing and unpleasant. The passage, for it could not be called a road, had been cut only two years before, and the rain had fallen so copiously, that we frequently sunk in bogs and quagmires nearly to the knee. For a time the oil with which my moccassins were impregnated resisted the water, but by and by I sunk so deep that dry feet were out of the question. The rain and snow continued for about half an hour after we started, but towards the afternoon ceased. Two or three huts occupied by new settlers, occurred at intervals, and in one place we found them busily employed in felling the trees. At a mountain stream, which came brawling down through the forests, we reached a small saw-mill, which has been erected for the benefit of the settlers; it was of very humble dimensions, in comparison of Mr Paterson's at Montmorenci, and had but one blade. About three miles beyond this we reached 'Riverside' as my friend has very appropriately named it; where we found the settler and his family, in a very comfortable wooden house of

two apartments, with sashed windows, a large stove in the kitchen, and many other conveniences, which could not have been so soon acquired had he been obliged to struggle through, like many poor emigrants, with no resources but his own. Three Indians were assisting him in clearing the land, and we saw several stacks of grain, some of which were the second, and others the first crop.

The Indians handle the axe with great dexterity in felling trees. They attack the trunk about three feet from the ground, making the lower side of the gash exactly horizontal, and the upper inclining to it at about an angle of forty-five. The chips are struck off from the upper surface, and in consequence of their inclination to the grain of the wood fly off with rapidity before the edge of the axe. One of them will cut down three or four large trees, before a couple of carpenters with a saw could manage one.

The Jacques Cartier is at this spot about 130 yards wide, and is navigable up and down for nearly twenty miles; below, however, falls and rapids cut off the communication, so that the settlers have not the advantages which a navigable stream would afford them, to carry their produce to Quebec. A few small islands occupy the centre of the river, and the opposite bank swells pretty rapidly up into a considerable mountain.

There was nothing very new to be seen at this

lge in the vast wilderness,' but its situation showed ething of the character of that life to which isands are annually betaking themselves; many hem sadly ignorant, I am afraid, of the hard- ; and difficulties against which they have to ;gle, and the utter exclusion to which they must :neral submit, from all the comforts of civilized ty. Lonely, however, as this cottage was, sur- ded with dense forests, and very soon to be en- ed in the snows of a Canadian winter, with an sphere sometimes cold enough to freeze the ury of the thermometer, it might be said to nothing of seclusion, in comparison of many of iousand huts which in the more remote regions s vast continent are buried in the woods. We d two or three log houses before we reached ne, and at a little distance on the opposite of the stream there are one or two more; the ice from Quebec also is but trifling, and in r when the snow is on the ground, the sleigh rriole will fly across the intervening space in or four hours. Yet after all, what a pitiable waits them during the long winter months! ground completely locked up, field labour to- suspended, the cold so intense that unless they rapped in furs it is impossible to stir out, ut being frost-bitten; and no adequate employ- within doors to occupy their attention. What he man and his wife with their three children uring the long winter months, but hang over

the fire in torpid inactivity, eating, sleeping, and fruitlessly sighing for spring.

This is bad enough; but to be buried in the boundless forests of the inland country must be still worse. Our Ayrshire friend is at least within reach of his fellow-creatures if he should need their aid, and of some of the comforts of life if he has wherewith to purchase them; but the backwoodsman who buries himself in the pathless savannas or drearier forests of the western country, a hundred miles from a surgeon, and two or three hundred miles from a church, with his thousand acres of land untenanted by a human being but those in his own hut, is surely an object of pity to the poorest inmate of an hospital or a work-house. He may retain as many of the characteristics of humanity as to come within the letter of the schoolmen's definition, *animal bipes implume*, but should he not fall a victim to copperheads, bears, broken limbs, or swamp fevers, what has he that the poorest need covet? He may manage to raise as much wheat and Indian corn, as will satisfy the cravings of hunger, and perhaps procure him once a-year clothes for himself and his family; he may shoot wild animals to make cords of their sinews, candles of their fat, and shoes of their skins—but he is absolutely excluded from human society, and a stranger to all the relations, duties, and comforts, which are connected with it. His children grow up without instruction, ignorant of their duty to God

and to man. In the monotonous sameness with which time passes, he loses reckoning of the days of the week, or should he remember the return of the First Day, in all probability he disregards it;—he has scarcely a single motive for action superior to those which impel the inferior animals, nor is he animated by any hope beyond the anticipations of the merest physical gratifications. The hog that burrows beside him for acorns, has scarcely a less intellectual existence.

It may be said of some who betake themselves to this life, that it was an involuntary choice, and that stern necessity drove them to it. Of a few this may be correct, but of comparatively few. Those whose resources are most exhausted, in general find a refuge nearer to the abodes of man, where perhaps they obtain a smaller portion of ground, but where at least they are far less excluded from civilized life. Those who select the western wilderness have been in general men who were enjoying a moderate, and sometimes a liberal share of the bounties of Providence; but who were the dupes of discontented political principles, or undue desires of encreased substance. We have heard of many in our own country who were supporting their families in a respectable and comfortable way, and even accumulating a moderate independence, who notwithstanding abandoned the occupations at which they had so prospered, and converting all their property into money, brought it out here to bury it in the woods.

As night came on, it began to suggest some consideration as to where we should sleep. This however, I soon found, puzzled nobody but myself; the arrangements were very simple, easily contrived, and speedily executed. The kitchen of the house, probably ten or twelve feet square, was as yet the only apartment that was tenantable; for a deep excavation had been made in the other in which to protect the winter's provision from frost, and no floor had as yet been laid over it. A wooden bedstead which had been erected in the kitchen, as the family dormitory, was assigned to the landlord and myself; a *shake-down*, as we should call it at home, contained the farmer, his wife, and their three children, while Paul and the other three Indians took each a billet of wood as a pillow, and wrapping their blankets round them stretched themselves on the floor.

Next morning was clear and frosty. A short sail on the river before breakfast served to quicken our appetites, and in the forenoon we set off for Quebec. Paul's burden, like that of Æsop, had shrunk to a mere shadow. After a walk of nearly three hours we reached the abode of Monsieur Etienne, whose mansion, contrasted with that which we had left, seemed more inviting and more comfortable than ever. Another basin of warm broth was prepared for us by Madame, and our calash and little Canadian nag soon conveyed us to Quebec.

I have already alluded to the fortifications of

Quebec, but they are far too important to be passed over with so slight a notice. A glance at the plains of Abraham, however, will be a suitable introduction.

Issuing from the city by St. Louis's gate, an extensive level ground lies before you, with the suburb of St. Roch upon the right hand. These are the plains of Abraham, which are here about a mile in width; and it is necessary to recollect that in surveying them from this position, Quebec lies behind the spectator, the St. Charles flowing past upon the right hand, and the St. Lawrence upon the left. The plains, although in general level, are crossed by a gentle rising in the ground at some distance from the fortifications, and were batteries erected here by a besieging enemy, they would command a considerable part of the walls; the guns, however, upon Cape Diamond are still from ten to fifteen feet above them. Here, and for a considerable space around, was the decisive battle fought. The ground is quite unincumbered with trees, and except the slight elevation to which I have already alluded, there is no inequality in the ground which could benefit either assailants or defendants; it was "a fair field and no favour." Beyond the elevated ridge, four strong Martello towers have been erected, extending in a line across the peninsula; and heavy guns crown their summits, which would sweep the whole extent of the plains. It is said that on the side next to Quebec, the stone work of which

they are constructed is comparatively weak; so that should they fall into an enemy's hand, they may be immediately battered down by the guns of the citadel.

Beyond these towers an oval block of granite, three or four feet long, has been sunk into the ground, to mark the spot where tradition says that Wolfe breathed his last. It corresponds with other three stones which were arranged in a true meridional line, about thirty years after the capture of Quebec, to assist in adjusting the instruments which are used in surveying the country. Weld says that a line marking the meridian was cut in the stone itself, but if so, it has long since disappeared under the dilapidating attacks of relic-hunters; who have so rounded away every projection that I found it totally impossible to chip off the smallest fragment.[7]

It is somewhat remarkable that no monument has been erected at Quebec to the memory of Wolfe. There is indeed a small wooden figure, in a niche at the corner of one of the streets in the upper town, attired in a broad skirted scarlet coat and cocked hat, but it is a miserable attempt at sculpture, and would hardly be allowed to pass as a figure-head for a collier. In former times the proposal of a public monument may have been prevented by a

[7] Professor Silliman was afterwards more successful, but it must be recollected that he is a mineralogist, and goes about with his hammer in his pocket, while I had nothing to knock with but a piece of stone.

very proper respect to the feelings of the French population; but so far as I can judge, they no longer consider the conquest as either a humiliation or a misfortune. It has given them the inestimable advantages of a free constitution, and completely delivered them from the miseries attendant on the endless contest between the British and French colonists. Had they been as sensitive on this point as some might suppose, the man of timber to whom I have alluded, would not have been allowed so long to occupy his niche in quietness; he is not much larger than the little highlander who has so long proffered his *mull* over the door of a snuff-shop in our native city, and is perched so low, that a tall fellow passing in the street might almost pull him down by the nose.

The fortifications of the city are not difficult to describe. On the south and east the precipice of rock on which the city stands is in most places perfectly inaccessible, while the more practicable points admit of easy and effectual defence. On the north, the banks of the St. Charles are low, shallow and muddy; effectually securing the town from the approach of ships of war, or the erection of hostile works; both of which, besides, would in this situation be under the fire of the batteries along the brow of the rock. The only vulnerable point is on the west, adjoining to the plains of Abraham.

The citadel, upon the highest part of Cape

Diamond,[8] may be said to be the nucleus of the works which have been erected to protect this side of Quebec. No strangers, unless by very rare and special permission from the highest authorities, nor in general any but the military, are permitted to enter the citadel.[9] I understand however that there is really nothing extraordinary to be seen. Its defences are of the strongest kind, its guns of the largest calibre; and magazines are embraced within

[8] Cape Diamond is so called, from the circumstance that crystals of quartz, frequently very pure and regularly formed, are found in tolerable abundance between the layers of slaty rock on the brow of the precipice. They occur indeed in various directions round the town. Professor Silliman however informs us that hunting after them is not a very popular amusement. "As I was hammering," says he, "upon a rock, to which I had climbed, so far up one of the precipices that I was above the chimnies of the houses in the contiguous parts of the lower town, a man came running out, and with a French accent, and much vehement gesture and expostulation, conjured me to desist, unless I meant to bury him and his house in ruins, by causing the rocks to fall. I saw no danger, as the rocks appeared tolerably firm, but of course desisted and came down. Indeed so large a number of the houses in the lower town are built against the foot of the precipice, or very near it, that the rocks look as if they might at any time fall and crush them; it would seem as if they must of course do so should any of them give way. We were informed that a great mass fell recently, and much endangered many houses, but happily missed them; one house is said to have been crushed last winter, but I did not hear that any life was lost."—*Tour between Hartford and Quebec, pp.* 781, 2.

[9] Professor Silliman, by singular good fortune, obtained admission to the citadel, but I have heard that his success has been the cause of a subsequent more rigorous enforcement of the prohibitory statute. His remarks are, "this exclusion may be judicious as preventing nu-

ircuit, which might enable the garrison to make al stand, even were the whole range of the outer s reduced by an enemy. The highest point n the citadel is Brock's battery, which was ed during last war, and commands it is said all vorks on this side of the town From the cit- which is immediately over the St. Lawrence, nous walls cross the plain, extending down rds the St. Charles. These walls have all the ional aid of outer-works, ditch, glacis, and cov- way. Strong bastions project at intervals; n whatever direction you look, heavy cannon erge, so as to meet the assailant at every turn, with a direct and a cross fire. There are two on this side, St. John's and St. Louis's; but approach to them is fortified with such jeal- are, that one cannot conceive a possibility of ever being entered but by consent of the gar- The wall at each gate is said to be about fifty n thickness. Within the walls and between

and troublesome visits, but it appears very unnecessary in a y point of view, for the more the strength of the citadel is made , the less disposed, I am persuaded, will any enemy be to at-

Commodore Bainbridge, during his recent visit here (I un- d) was freely shown the citadel, and every part of the fortifica- and I heard a British officer say, that in his view it was quite ous to pursue any other course, and to pretend to any secret he thing. We were very forcibly struck with the formidable tions, which seem, on all sides, to render an attack upon the a hopeless enterprize."—*Tour between Hartford and Quebec,*

the two gates is a fine sloping bank, or esplanade, of considerable extent, on which on the 4th of June I saw a *feu de joie* fired by the military, while the guns of the citadel re-echoed the discharge.

Other batteries and lines of defence are continued around the brow of the rock, on both sides, towards the lower town; but excepting in the neighbourhood of the Prescott gate, there appears to be comparatively little occasion for them. Between this gate and the St. Charles, is the grand battery, commanding the bay and a great part of the harbour.

Upon the whole, Quebec may be regarded as pretty nearly impregnable.[10] The walls are so high that escalade is hopeless, so thick that a breach seems impracticable, and while Britain retains its naval superiority in the river, blockade is out of the question. The length and severity of the winter also act as a powerful auxiliary, for field operations could scarcely then be carried on. I have heard it indeed said, that in the winter nights

[10] Professor Silliman says "An officer of the garrison informed us that it took him an hour and a half, merely to visit all the sentinels on duty, upon the various stations on the walls; this appears to evince that the walls cannot be much less than three miles in circuit; and the same military man gave it as his opinion that it would require at least ten thousand men for a complete garrison. —Going into a book store in Quebec, I observed in one of the gazettes of the city, a paragraph copied from a recent American paper, to this effect, that if it should be ever desirable to take Quebec, it could at any time be easily done, in two months, *at the point*

the sentinels on the ramparts are relieved every fifteen minutes, so overpowering is the intensity of the cold.

The literary character of Quebec is, so far as I can judge, very much akin to that of Montreal; perhaps any difference that may be, is against Quebec. It is more of a sea-port town than the other, and many of the mercantile houses are merely branches of those in Montreal, conducted in general by the junior partners, and devoted to the superintendence of their Custom House transactions.

The same circumstances must influence in some measure the character of society; although as the seat of the colonial government, and a garrison town, it is likely to be more gay, in the gay season, than even Montreal; my opportunity however of observing domestic manners, has been extremely limited. The population is somewhat under that of Montreal.

To the aspect of the Protestant religion in

of the bayonet. Surely such a remark is indecent, with respect to a people with whom we are now in amity; and to any one who has ever seen Quebec, it appears superlatively ridiculous, and only exposes us to contempt:—an effort to *take the moon at the point of the bayonet* would be almost equally rational." *Tour between Hartford and Quebec, p.* 277, and *Note.* In the same volume pp. 282—291, is an interesting and apparently very accurate account of General Montgomery's unsuccessful attack on Quebec, in the commencement of the American revolutionary war; I regret that its length prevents me from extracting it.

Montreal and Quebec, I have during both visits paid considerable attention, and I am sorry to be under the necessity of giving a very unfavourable report of it. There are in Quebec, as in Montreal, four places of worship, an Episcopalian, a Scotish, a Methodist, and an Independent; in Montreal in place of the Independent, there is a Burgher congregation.

In the Episcopalian churches the doctrine which was preached, so far as I could judge, was decidedly subversive of the distinguishing principles of the gospel declaration, "By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God."

In the Scotish churches the *mode* of worship of course differed, but in doctrine I could detect nothing which did not correspond. In one of them I was present on a sacramental occasion, as it is usually called; and the clergyman's discourse was intended as an exposition of the Assembly's catechism, on the subject of the Lord's supper. The spirit of this address was, "Man is a frail and erring creature, and God neither expects nor requires perfection; if we are only sincere in desiring and endeavouring to do well, it is all that is necessary to qualify us for worthily receiving this ordinance, and being accepted of by God." Another preacher undertook to illustrate the passage, "If any one provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied

the faith and is worse than an infidel." The precepts of self-denial contained in the sermon on the Mount, he told us, were intended for the twelve disciples alone, and were only necessary in those days when men were so averse to religion, that miracles were necessary to convince them; but that "now when religion is fully established," there was no occasion for such self-denial and mortification. The active scenes of worldly occupation, he assured us, were the true field where religion was to be acquired and displayed, and it mainly consisted in an unremitting attention to our business, whatever it might be, and honest endeavours to acquire wealth; "not indeed for the sordid gratification of our avarice, but to enlarge our power and influence, and particularly our capacity of virtue and usefulness."

In one of the Methodist chapels I heard a pretty animated discourse on death, in which the preacher contrasted that of a 'good man,' with that of a 'bad;' but when he came to tell us in what the one differed from the other, his frequent admonition to 'walk in the paths of piety,' without telling us in what this consisted, and without ever telling us of that truth which alone can take away the fear of death, only showed that his own ideas on the subject were not those which would stand the scrutiny of comparison with scripture. His discourse was certainly very different from that of the Presbyterian minister; but alas, how many

different ways are there of going wrong, i statement of religious doctrine! I went t corresponding chapel in the other city in ex tion of hearing sermon, but mistook the ho service, and found a Sabbath school in oper There were about forty children present, so whom were learning the letters, but others read well, and a few repeated hymns. They quiet and orderly in their behaviour, and gured well of the appearance which the s presented. One of the teachers told me t had only existed for about six weeks.

I hoped to have heard a good discourse i Burgher chapel at Montreal, for I had le that the minister had been under the tuition celebrated preacher of that connexion in New and was reputed correct in doctrine. On goi the chapel, however, I learned that there w be no service that day, and that the regular r ter had left the city in consequence of bad h

In the Independent chapel at Quebec, th at present no regularly settled minister; I he highlander preach, whose knowledge of the lish language was exceedingly imperfect, an utterance of course feeble. He seemed ho to know the simple doctrine of salvation thr the blood of Jesus, and I listened to his hig accent with emotions of considerable plea His text was the concluding sentence of Corn address to Peter, and though in point of cons

tion and delivery, his discourse was weak enough, yet its having 'the root of the matter' in it, atoned for many imperfections. His congregation was a very slender one.

A year or two ago there was a Bible Society established in Quebec, but its existence was of short duration. The "Lord Bishop" was, it is said, of that class of Episcopalians who contemplate with alarm the circulation of the Bible, without the qualifying ministrations of the book of Common Prayer; and his pastoral authority having in some shape or other sanctioned, or been supposed to sanction, its reprobation, the institution soon expired.[11] To the same ecclesiastical dignitary is attributed the failure of an attempt to establish Lancasterian schools. The measure was in contemplation, and my informant assured me that there was every reason to have expected the co-operation, or at least the permission, of the Romish Bishop; but the Protestant one having refused his patronage, it was followed by a corresponding disapproval from his brother prelate.

It is to be regretted that so little has hitherto been attempted for the instruction of the French Canadians. Excepting the 'Seminaries' of Montreal and Quebec, I am not aware of the existence of any school, where their boys can acquire even the most ordinary elements of education.

[11] I saw in one of the huts on the Jacques Cartier, a Bible with the stamp of the "Quebec Bible Society."

Their spiritual instruction is equally neglected. There is not any where in the province, so far as I have been able to learn, a single individual capable of preaching the truths of the gospel in the French language.[12] Surely the London Missionary Society should not overlook so important a station. From most of the protestant ministers of Canada, I am afraid, nothing can be expected but total apathy to such an attempt; and whoever undertakes it, must not only be thoroughly imbued with a knowledge and love of the truth, but have that conscientious ardour in the cause, which will bear him up under much difficulty and much opposition. It would be of importance that his talents and acquirements should be both respectable; for the Romish clergymen are in general men of education, and should they enter into controversy with him, he would in all probability have no auxiliary in the struggle. He must however be a man of much prudence; for the duties of such a situation would be both difficult and important, and humanly speaking, every thing would depend upon the manner in which they were performed. That the native Canadians would not be totally disinclined to listen to him, there is every reason to believe. While present in the Methodist chapel in Montreal, one of them came in and sat down

[12] I have subsequently learned that there are some Methodist missionaries in Lower Canada, who preach in French; but I heard nothing of them when in the country. (1822.)

beside me. I pointed out the text to him; he thanked me in a whisper, but said that he did not understand English. After sitting a few minutes he rose and went out, but it was in all probability his inability to understand the preacher, that prevented him from being as attentive an auditor as any one present.

The observance of the Sabbath, both in Montreal and Quebec, is such as might be expected from the general tone of manners and principles. I found a gentleman on the Sabbath forenoon very busily engaged in posting his books, and the following day no less busily engaged in conversation with his clergyman upon the affairs of the congregation; in which I understand he is a leading man! It would be most unjust to make an individual case the ground of a general decision, but I am sorry to say, that this is but too fair a sample of the prevailing system.

The poor Papists seem to be by far the most attentive to the external observance of the Sabbath. The churches are filled with them from an early hour, and if the weather be good, crowds of those who cannot get admission may be seen kneeling outside; crossing themselves and praying. Upon the whole I am constrained to say, with regard to all that I have seen of the religious aspect of Lower Canada, that it is very much the reverse of what as a Briton and a christian I should wish it to be.

LETTER XVIII.

LETTER XVIII.

TO ST. JOHN'S—LAKE CHAMPLAIN—ROUSSE'S POINT
BURGH—BURLINGTON—CROWN POINT—TICONDERO-
E GEORGE—WHITEHALL—SARATOGA AND BALLSTON
-RETURN TO NEW YORK—*DIARY*—ST. ANDREW'S DAY
-FIRE ENGINES — SLEIGHS — BOARDING HOUSES —
EPING—TAMMANY HALL—EVENING VISITS—YOUNG
COUPLE—LOTTERIES—SLAVES AND SLAVERY—NEWS-
- SENTIMENTS OF AMERICANS TOWARDS BRITAIN —
OF DIFFERENT CLERGYMEN DURING THE LATE WAR—
F THE NEWS OF PEACE—CHRISTMAS—TEA PARTY.

New York, November, 1818.

Montreal, the traveller crosses in a log
Longueuil, a village on the opposite bank
er. The St. Lawrence is here about two
e, but the passage across is rendered tedi-
he strength of the current which rushes
along between the islands. St. Helena,
st of these, has been lately purchased by
ent, and barracks are to be erected on it,
ll have the advantage of removing the
om Montreal.

Longueuil a stage runs to La Prairie,
es up the St. Lawrence, and thence across
ohn's on the river Sorell twelve miles

distant. There is a road by Chambly in place of La Prairie, and if the traveller has his choice, it is the preferable one, as it will afford him a view of Fort Chambly, one of the old French erections, which during last war resumed its unwonted character, and in 1814 was the head-quarters of an encampment of 6000 men.

On the morning after leaving Montreal, I sailed from St. John's in the Phœnix[1] steam boat, for Whitehall, at the southern extremity of lake Champlain.

The Sorell, at St. John's, is rather more than a mile across, and gradually widens till we pass Isle aux Noix, distant about nine miles. Isle aux Noix contains about eighty five acres; its situation gives it a complete command of the navigation of the river, and it is therefore an important military station. The works, consisting of three strong forts, supported by block houses, and inclosing barracks of considerable extent, have a showy appearance from

[1] I made two passages down the lake in the Phœnix; she was a very fine vessel, but was destroyed by fire in the autumn of the following year. This calamitous event took place at midnight, while the vessel was full of passengers, and in a wide part of the lake. Her head was immediately turned towards an island, and every effort made to hasten her speed towards it, but long ere she reached the shore the flames had spread from end to end; the greater part of the passengers and crew escaped by the small boats, but six or seven lives were lost. The fire was occasioned by a candle, which had been left burning in a small closet, and had communicated to the shelf above. A spirited description of the melancholy catastrophe is contained in Miss Wright's volume on America.

the river; and the scarlet uniform gives the British traveller a kind of farewell look, as he leaves the territory of his sovereign, to re-enter the dominions of the republic.

About eleven miles from Isle aux Noix we pass Rousse's Point, upon the western bank, where a very fine semicircular stone fort has been erected since last war by the American government. This in the event of future hostilities would have been, in the hands of the Americans, a complete safeguard against the advance of any hostile squadron from Canada; but it has lately been whispered that the Commissioners for ascertaining the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, the boundary line between the two countries, have discovered that this fine fort stands on British ground, and will of course become an unintentional present from the United States to his majesty. The chief astronomer employed on behalf of Britain, was a passenger with me in the steam boat, but he preserved a very prudent silence, and declined answering any questions on the subject.[2]

The Sorell terminates a little below the fort, and the steam boat enters the lake. Lake Champlain

[2] This report was eventually confirmed, and excited not a little exultation on the one side, and mortification on the other. The theodolites of the astronomers however have subsequently made another discovery, less to the taste of the Canadians, which is, that the only navigable channel of the Long Sault rapid is on the American side of the line, and of course that our boats must ask leave to navigate it.

from this to Whitehall, is about ninety-five miles long. For more than thirty miles however towards the lower extremity it is so narrow, that it assumes the character of a river, and may of course be said to correspond with the Sorell which we have just left. The body of the lake, properly so called, is exceedingly irregular in shape; flowing round a good many islands, some of which are of considerable size, and washing numerous promontories and indented points along the shore. The banks are in general flat, and covered with wood to the water's edge.

Soon after entering the lake the steam boat was brought to, near a small wooden building upon the shore, over which the flag of the United States was flying. This is the Custom House, and an officer came on board to inspect our luggage. The inspection however was a mere matter of form; the trunks and portmanteaus could scarcely be said to be more than opened and shut again. The boat was not delayed by this ceremony, for by a judicious arrangement, the officer goes along with the boat to the nearest port, and waits for the returning vessel.

About twenty-five miles from Rousse's Point we entered Plattsburgh bay, and came to anchor off the town, to land and receive passengers. Here the British fleet under Commodore Downie, was captured by the American one under Commodore M'Donough; and its brave commander fell in the

bloody struggle. The British troops under Sir G. Prevost witnessed from the shore the disastrous conflict; but in place of attacking the town, as was previously intended, and as Americans universally say might yet have been done, with every prospect of both carrying the position, and recapturing the vessels, the commander gave the finishing stroke to our humiliation by ordering an immediate and precipitate retreat. Plattsburgh is a lively bustling little town, and slopes up showily from the water. The steam boat did not go along-side the wharf, so that I did not get on shore; nor was I very anxious to enlarge my acquaintance with scenes, which as a Briton I could not think of, but with a certain degree of bitterness. We reaped no laurels last war from the events on the lakes.

About twenty-four miles farther, we reached Burlington, in the State of Vermont, upon the opposite bank; and soon after passing it, evening sunk down upon us.

During the night we passed Crown Point, upon the right hand, where the wide part of the lake terminates, and what may be called the river begins. Here are the ruins of a stone fort, which was originally built by the French, and afterwards renewed and strengthened by the English when they obtained possession. Twelve or fourteen miles beyond it, on the same side, are the remains of Fort Ticonderoga, also of French origin. Ticonderoga stands on an elevated point of land

formed by the outlet of lake George,[3] whose waters come down from the more elevated mountainous land on the west; and flowing round the little cape and the ruins, unite with the Champlain. The warlike character of these positions has now passed away; but in the days of French power in America, devastating excursions were often made from them upon the neighbouring British colonists, and their more recent fame is identified with General Burgoyne's disastrous expedition during the revolutionary war. Ticonderoga was for a time held by the Americans, and was generally supposed to be impregnable, but Burgoyne's troops dragged up some battering cannon to a neighbouring and much higher eminence, formerly called Sugar Hill, but now Mount Defiance, which caused the precipitate abandonment of the old fortress. On the opposite side of the Champlain is Mount Independence, where the Americans had also an intrenched post.

On getting upon deck next morning, we were passing between a double line of mountains, but

[3] Lake George, about thirty six miles in length, and from one to two miles broad, lies nearly parallel to the lower end of lake Champlain. It is celebrated for the grandeur of the mountainous scenery amidst which it is embosomed; for the number of its islands, on some of which beautiful crystals of quartz are found; and for the remarkable transparency of its waters, and the epicurean delicacy of the bass an d trout which they contain. Many places along its shores are famous in the history of the wars of the Colonies and the Revolution. The forests which skirt it, still abound with deer and rattlesnakes.

ear the banks of the stream the ground was marshy and uninteresting, and the channel very irregular and winding; in some places the turns were so abrupt, and the stream so narrow, that a tow line had to be got out a-head, to aid the helm in bringing the vessel round.

We now approached the end of the lake, but I was not permitted to escape from it till I had been again reminded of the melancholy battle of Plattsburgh. The unfortunate Downie's fleet, and that of his antagonist, now dismantled and roofed over, are moored by the edge of the stream a few miles from Whitehall.

Whitehall is a dirty, but busy little town. It was formerly called Skenesborough, and under that name is famous in Burgoyne's campaign. It is built upon the banks of a muddy stream called Wood Creek, which flows from the south, and branching into two arms, tumbles over some steep rocks into the channel of lake Champlain. The houses stand partly in a narrow valley between the mountains, and partly upon their steep acclivities. At Whitehall the new canal terminates, which is to connect lake Champlain and the Hudson.[4]

There are two stage routes from Whitehall to Albany, and the distance by the shorter is about seventy-two miles; for more than the latter half of the way the road skirts the bank of the Hudson, and

[4] See an account of this canal in a note to Letter Eleventh.

the traveller passes over a great part of the ground which was traversed by General Burgoyne's army, and contended for mile after mile by the Americans, till ultimately the fortune of war rendered the whole of the Royal army prisoners to that of the republic. The last position of the British was an intrenched camp on the high ground north of the Fishkill, a small creek which crosses the road into the Hudson, and the surrender took place in a level meadow on the bank of the Fishkill, at the confluence of the two streams.

The other road, which is considerably more circuitous, was the one which I travelled; we passed through Saratoga and Ballston, both famous for their chalybeate springs, the resort of invalids, idlers, and fashionables, from all parts of the United States, and even foreign countries. Ballston springs have been celebrated for upwards of thirty years; Saratoga was then little better than a morass, but within these twelve or fifteen years, its springs have got into great repute, and in the months of July and August it is now not uncommon for it to contain from 1200 to 1500 strangers.

There are upwards of fourteen springs in Saratoga and its neighbourhood, all varying somewhat in their mineral and gaseous impregnation. I drank a tumbler of the water of 'Congress spring,' supplied, from a very neat fountain, by little boys who dip the drinking glasses into

the water.[5] Arriving at Albany, I got on board the Chancellor Livingstone, and after a comfortable voyage reached New York in safety.

I purpose to spend the greater part of the winter in New York, and as my observations must necessarily be of a very miscellaneous nature, not easily admitting of classification, I shall at once dismiss the attempt, and offer them as extracts from my Journal.

Nov. 30th. St. Andrew's day. A broad blue banner is flying from one of the windows of the City Hotel, 'blent with the silver cross, to Scotia dear,' and at half past four I go like a true Scotsman to dine with the St. Andrew's Society of New-York. My heart throbbed high as I passed along Broadway, after breakfast, and saw the national banner waving over the democratic heads of the New Yorkers;—Scotland for ever!

Dec. 1st. I was sadly mortified last night;—a miserably insipid mixture of *Yankeeism* and *Land-of-Cakeism*; neither one nor other, but both spoiled.

At four I repaired with Mr. —— to the hotel; paid five dollars for a ticket, and was introduced in

[5] An annual volume of advertisements, published at Philadelphia in 1822, gives an analysis of the water of each of the springs; the following two are the most celebrated:

Congress Spring, Saratoga, Temperature 50 Deg. Fahr.

One gallon, 231 Cubic inches, contains

uriate of Soda	471	.5	Grains.
rbonate of Lime	178	.476	—
—— of Soda	16	.5	—
—— of Magnesia	3	.356	—
—— of Iron	6	.168	—
			676 Gr.

d Carbonic Acid Gas 343 Cubic inches.

Ballston Spring, Temperature 50 Deg. Fahr.

One gallon contains

Muriate of Soda	159		Grains.
Carbonate of Lime	75	.5	—
—— of Soda	9		—
—— of Magnesia	2	.5	—
—— of Iron	7		—
			253 Gr.

and Carbonic Acid Gas, 210 Cubic inches.

due form to the president *pro tempore* of the Society.[6] He and the other office-bearers received their *brither Scots* in the large dancing hall of the hotel; they were conspicuous among the men of the *north countrie*, by broad blue and white collars, from which hung a large medallion of the patron of Scotland.

While dinner was serving in the adjoining room, our national feelings were roused by a brawny limbed son of the mountains, who with the drone of a pair of immense bagpipes under his arm, strutted up and down the hall, braying Scotish airs with all his might. By and by the dinner bell rang, the ample portal was thrown open, and the northern tide flowed in—"The Campbells are coming aho! aho!" The president took post at the convex extremity of a large horse-shoe table, the vice-presidents at either end, and when all had arranged themselves in due order the chaplain of the society, Dr.——, was called upon to officiate. The *gillies* of the hotel, however, had neglected to give the signal in the antichamber, and while the reverend clergyman was raising his voice within, the pipes were still vociferating without, so that the sounds drowned each other and we lost the benefit of both.

As soon as the covers were removed, my eyes ran over the ample board in quest of the barley

[6] The President was at that time in England.

kail, the smoking sheep's head and trotters, the sonsy haggis,

> " Wha's pin wad help to mend a mill,
> In time o' need."

But alas! these national luxuries found no place in the bill of fare; even a solitary fragment of oat meal cake was not to be seen. A sumptuous dinner was before us, but not a solitary dish that was characteristic of our native land.[7] The toasts however I expected would be more commemorative of auld langsyne, and the music exclusively national;—presently some scrapers of catgut, perched in the orchestra, twisted *Yankee Doodle* out of their asthmatic instruments, and scarcely was a Scotish tune given us during the whole evening, whose effect was not immediately neutralized by an American one.

By and by the cloth was removed, and the president gave the word,—'The day, and all that honour it;' which was repeated at right and left by the croupiers, and swallowed with enthusiasm.

[7] On remonstrating afterwards with one of the office-bearers of the society on the inconsistency of such a St. Andrew's dinner, he told me that the cook had tried on one occasion to manufacture a haggis, but that the appetites of the Americo-Scotsmen, had become too refined to relish such fare. They sipped a morsel or two from the point of a tea spoon, and then hollowed out "Waiter, take away *this*." I heard in another quarter that into the said haggis a few raisins had been introduced, as an American improvement; but this I could hardly think possible.

'Scotland the land of our nativity,' 'America the country of our adoption,' followed in due course. 'The President of the United States;' —rather too soon, thought I. 'The King of Great Britain and all friendly powers;' — The King of Great Britain and all friendly powers!— and is it only because he is one of the *friendly powers*, that Scotsmen at a national anniversary drink their good old king's health! It needed the king's anthem, which followed this toast, and would have needed more, to make it palatable. 'The Vice President of the United States, elevated by the voice of a free and intelligent people, to the second situation in the only representative government upon earth.' Och-hon a-ree! Och-hon a-ree! — and are Scotsmen in America so utterly regardless of their native country's renown, that they thus at a St. Andrew's dinner slight the sovereign of the land, and slander its free constitution—the envy and the admiration of the whole world?—and all because the Vice President of the United States, and the Mayor of New York, had *honoured* the Society with their company? Truly such Scotsmen should abjure the name.

The remainder of the entertainment was of a mixed character. Among the multitude of toasts, there were a few that were powerfully calculated to excite and to gratify the national feelings; and in the course of the evening some Scotish songs were sung, which warmed the northern heart. We had

however a laughable proof of the danger of any but Scotsmen meddling with our *Doric* dialect. A young American, the grandson I believe of a Scotsman, on being called upon for a song pled his inability to sing, but volunteered a recitation;—and to evince his partiality for the national bard he announced his choice to be Tam o' Shanter. The young gentleman however soon betrayed his ignorance of Tam's mother tongue, and tortured our ears with the most terrific imitation of the Scotish dialect that ever I heard. It was most amusing to see the involuntary contortion of mouth, that travelled from one northern visage to another, as he told us

> ——— "Ae winter *neet*,
> Tam had got planted unco *reet*;
> Fast by an ingle bleezing *feenly*
> Wi' reaming swats that drank *diveenly*!"

He thought probably that if he made very bad English, he could not miss making very excellent Scots, and bad enough English he certainly did make. Happily he stuck fast about half way through, and we silenced him with a very equivocal thunder of applause. "The nicht drave on wi' angs and clatter," and about ten I rose from table, not a little mortified at the extremely diluted nationality of some of the Scotsmen of New York.

5th. Fire! Fire! Fire! was echoed through the streets last night, and every bell in the city

rung out its larum peal. Five buildings, all of wood, were burned to the ground. There was another most destructive conflagration in the beginning of the week.

The burning of a stone or brick building, is nothing to that of a wooden one. In the former the roof falls in, and the windows and doors give issue to the flames, but in the latter the whole material of the walls, from the ground to the chimney top, is wrapped in one sheet of fire; the crackling clapboards scale off as their fastenings give way, and discover the log frame of the tenement, consuming, like an immense funeral pile, all that is embraced by it. There is still a considerable portion of the older streets in New York which are entirely of wood. By the fire in the beginning of the week a solid block of buildings surrounded by four intersecting streets was reduced to ashes, and the heat was so intense as to kindle some of the opposite houses.

The management of the fire engines in New York is apparently very efficient, but what can engines do when such a mass of timber is once in flames? There are no less than forty engines, with from eighteen to thirty firemen attached to each. The firemen are all volunteers, and principally young men in the middle rank of life; their only reward is exemption from military and jury duty, which are more considerable privileges here than they would be with us. Every man from 18 to 45 must, unless specially exempted, be enrolled

as a militiaman, and muster even during peace eight days a year for military training. Jury duty is still more oppressive, for police jurisdiction such as exists with us is unknown, and the petty pilferer who twitches your handkerchief from your pocket cannot be punished for it, but on the verdict of a jury.

The signal of fire is the ringing of the church bells and every fireman must, under a heavy penalty, immediately repair to his post. In the event of a false alarm, the roll is called over at the engine house ten minutes after the last bell has ceased to ring, and a fine is incurred for absence. That each at a fire may readily discover his own engine, a lantern is carried on the top of a pole, with the number of the engine conspicuously painted in transparent figures. The firemen wear a frock-coat and trowsers of woollen cloth, covered with thick canvass, and a round cap of very thick leather with a broad rim, somewhat resembling the boarding caps of a man-of-war; within is a thick soft padding to deaden the effect of a blow, and on the outside are two high ridges, crossing each other, to give the cap additional strength. A great deal of rivalry prevails among the various companies, and the young men appear daring even to temerity. Each engine has its own foreman, deputy, and clerk; the companies are independent of each other, but subject to the direction of a chief Engineer, appointed by the city corporation. Notwithstand-

ing of the heavy and harassing duty required of them, there are always abundance of volunteers to supply vacancies, and it sometimes requires a considerable degree of interest to get elected.

9th. Other two fires last night, one of which is said to have destroyed five or six houses.

12th. Snow last night, and a sharp frost this morning. Some sleighs have started, but more apparently for the novelty of the thing than any thing else. The little boys have got small ones in which they draw each other about, and whirl down the steep places of the streets. The sleigh is an open carriage on two runners, shod with iron, exactly like a pair of large skates. They skim along so smoothly that a horse will manage eight or nine miles an hour with great ease. As there is no rattling of wheels, to warn pedestrians of their approach, the horse carries, by law, a row of bells round his neck. The horses it is said are fond of this music, and travel the quicker for it. When the snow is of considerable depth, the public stages are all taken off the wheels, and placed upon runners.

18th. The weather has been for some days past very cold. The Thermometer at seven this morning stood at 8°.

The boarding-house system, which prevails here universally, is in many respects not agreeable. I pay eight dollars a-week, 36s. sterling, for board and lodging. My bed-room contains a small bed, a fragment of carpet, two chairs, a table, looking-

glass, and wash-hand basin, but the apartment, although larger than many that are to be met with, has little more than space for the enumerated articles. For my washing I am charged 6¼ cents, about four pence sterling, *a piece*, that is shirt, neckcloth, nightcap, or pair of stockings, as they may come; and a black boy calls once a day for my boots, which he brushes for a dollar and a half a month; six shillings and nine pence sterling. Breakfast, dinner, and tea, are taken in the common parlour, and both the family and their boarders sit down together. Should I dine out the whole week, there is no abatement of the charge; should I wish a friend or two to dine with me, they must take their places at the public table, and I pay an extra dollar for each. Should the hour of dinner not suit me, on a particular occasion, I must go without, unless by special favour. Liquors of every kind the boarder provides for himself. Should I wish a fire in my bed-room, I lay in my own wood, which is three times as expensive as coals are in Glagsow. Should I wish to read, or write, or have a private hour's chat with a friend, I have no place of retirement but my pigeon-hole dormitory. Should the circle which surrounds the parlour fire in the evening, be dull or disagreeable, still the bed-room is my only refuge.[8]

[8] It may be satisfactory to have a native American's opinion of the boarding-house system. "It is a very great advantage," says Professor Silliman, "compared with the habits of our boarding-

These are some of the *disagreeables* of the system, and the traveller who is but a comer and goer, must put up with the greater part or all of them. There are circumstances however in which a boarding-house may be to a bachelor a very comfortable residence. For instance, when a few young men of sober habits and congenial dispositions get together, and find a landlady whose family is not numerous, and who, appreciating the advantages of quiet and permanent boarders, arranges the domestic system so as to make it as much as possible convenient and satisfactory to all. Several such circles are to be found here; and those who compose them frequently become almost as much attached to each other, as if the landlady, who is generally a widow lady, were the mother, and the boarders her children. In some boarding-houses ladies, as well as gentlemen, are permanent inmates; and very frequently young married people

houses, that in London one can exactly consult his own ability, fancy, and convenience; and you are not obliged at such houses as I have described, *(coffee-houses,)* to call for more wine than you wish to drink, nor indeed for any, if you do not choose to do it. The expense of living very comfortably in London, and with the advantage of a suit of furnished rooms, and your breakfast and tea in them at your own hours, and without intrusion, is not greater than at our first boarding-houses in America, nor indeed so great as at the *very first* houses—and one may manage so as to make it much less. In the mean time you are not encumbered with the gregarious assemblage of persons, with whom you are obliged in our boarding-houses to maintain some conversation, and to whom you and your affairs will become in a degree known. It is true you miss also

do not think of any other residence, till their increasing family makes a private establishment more desirable.

House-keeping is very expensive, particularly in the item of rent. A comfortable lodging of six or eight apartments cannot be had, except in the outskirts of the city, for less than from 800 to 1000 dollars a year, including the city taxes; £180 to £225 sterling. A boarding-house has recently been opened in Broadway, the landlady of which pays the enormous rent of 3000 dollars; £675. It is to be sure a large building, and in a favourable situation, but it is more than three times the rent which such a house would bring in Glasgow or Edinburgh. The wages of domestics are also very high, and good servants are not easily to be got. Black ones are most common, but not universal; we have a very active and very civil white girl in our boarding-house. Fire-wood as I have

some opportunities of information, and some interesting interviews; these however are not entirely precluded in English houses; you may, without being considered intrusive, seek conversation with those whom you casually meet at the coffee-houses."

Mr. S. is still more explicit in his remarks on his Edinburgh lodgings. "Boarding is here and in London almost unknown, and in the few instances in which it exists, is scarcely a comfortable or respectable mode of living, but nothing except the comfort of a well regulated family of one's own, can be more desirable than the method of living which I have described; any person who has once adopted it, will return with extreme reluctance, to the habits of an American boarding-house." *Silliman's Travels in England, &c. 3d Edit. Vol. III. pp.* 104 *and* 173.

already noticed is very high, and so are coals, which are in general brought from Liverpool or Greenock.

In most other particulars household expenses are moderate, butcher meat 3d. or 4d. sterling a pound, fowls about eighteen pence a pair; bread, vegetables, and butter in proportion. French wines are cheap, so is brandy; Madeira is rather dearer but is very generally used; very good Port and rum are scarcely to be had. Tea is about 3s. 6d. sterling a pound, but cheap as it is I have scarcely tasted a cup of good tea since I left home. They use almost nothing but green, and that is given you miserably thin, and with milk almost as blue as that of London.

The markets are large, and amply furnished with every thing that is good. It is common as with us for gentlemen to make purchases for the family table, but they carry their complaisance a step farther than we do, for they frequently also carry home what they provide. I have seen a merchant, worth according to report ten to twenty thousand pounds sterling, dangling a raw steak through the streets, between his finger and thumb; and the other morning I met a worthy clergyman, whose name is extensively known in our native country, stalking along Broadway swinging the carcass of an immense turkey in his hand.

19th. Dined with Mr. —— at Tammany Hall. On one occasion here we had roasted bear's flesh

as one of the dishes at table; it tasted very much like roasted goose, but heavier. Tammany Hall is one of the public hotels, and noted for the public meetings of the democratic party, or Bucktails,[9] as they are called. Like the other hotels it is the residence of a good many permanent boarders; some of them merchants of considerable wealth, who sit down every day at the public table. The inn is with us proverbially the traveller's home, but here it is the home of a great many besides travellers. This feature in the American system I cannot admire; nor can I imagine what comfort there can be amidst the bustle and noise of a public tavern, or in smoking segars and drinking spirits and water in the bar-room.

The dinner hour at Tammany Hall is three o'clock, and covers are every day set for from thirty to eighty. The resident boarders are generally found at the upper end of the table, and the travellers farther down. They take their seats at the sound of the dinner bell, and in little more than a quarter of an hour most of them are ready to leave the table. During dinner rum and water is the usual beverage; few take wine unless they are entertaining a friend. The dinner is always excellent, combining every variety of substantial cheer with a plentiful allowance of the delicacies of the season. After dinner three or four may

[9] From their wearing the tail of a buck in their hats at an annual festivity.

occasionally linger singing songs and smoking segars over a bottle of wine, but the practice is by no means general. Americans spend little time at table, retiring very soon either to their business, or the bar-room to read the newspapers. Boarding is moderate at Tammany Hall; Mr. —— tells me that he pays eight dollars a-week, while some of the more fashionable private boarding-houses charge ten or twelve, and the inmates are moreover by usage almost necessitated to drink wine during dinner. For economy of time and money, retirement, and freedom from temptation, the system of private lodgings, as in our native country, is decidedly preferable to either the one or the other.

21st. Spent the greater part of the day in writing home, and in the evening called and took tea in Mr. ——'s. After tea several gentlemen called one after another. This is a prevalent practice in New York, and is an agreeable and unceremonious way of visiting, if mere visiting were worth the sacrifice of time which it occasions. As soon as tea is over, most families, particularly if there are young ladies in them, prepare to receive visitors. The street doors in general open from without, with an ordinary latch, and all who are on terms of tolerable intimacy with the family walk in without ceremony. Shaking of hands is not at all in fashion, the visitors bow to the ladies, and seat themselves. The ordinary topics of conversation are discussed in the usual way; a servant hands

round a few nuts or apples, and in a little the callers take their leave as abruptly as they entered. In a family circle at tea, a servant generally attends to carry round the cups; the voluntary attentions of the gentlemen, which are so common in Scotland, would be thought exceedingly vulgar here.

22d. Paid a visit of congratulation to Mr. —— who has been married during my absence in Canada. The young couple do not keep house, but live in the family of the lady's father. This custom, like that of living in a boarding-house, is here very common. In place of becoming at once the master of his own house, the young husband *draws in his chair* at his father-in-law's fireside, and is content, frequently for years, to live as a lodger; his wife and he sitting as guests at the side of the table. It is all very well to have a father-in-law so much disposed to be friendly, and it would doubtless be very agreeable to spend occasionally an afternoon in his family, but to have no other home must surely be a most uncomfortable thing, and connected with sacrifices to which I should be very unwilling to submit. Were I married I should be disposed to have a house which I could call my own, and use as my own, even although it should be a very small one.

23d. The New York newspapers are like our own filled with lottery puffs, and 'Lucky Office' stares you in the face in every street. The pre-

valence of this licensed gambling in the United States is an evil token of the state of the public mind. We cannot indeed say that we are clean in this matter, so long as our Chancellor of the Exchequer has recourse to the same dishonourable expedient, in the ways and means of every year, but if we have one licensed lottery, we have but one; here are lotteries for almost every purpose; —for making roads, for building bridges, for erecting public buildings, for endowing universities, and would you believe it? for building churches! Indeed the pretexts for lotteries are as numerous as the demands for money, and the legislatures of many of the States scarcely ever assemble without authorizing some new ones, and thus virtually passing acts to promote avarice, dishonesty, unthriftiness, and a numerous train of inseparable vices. The following is quoted from an act of the Maryland legislature, passed in the spring of this year, "*A supplement to an act, entitled an act to regulate lotteries.* And be it enacted, that the lottery for the benefit of the university of Maryland, and the Fell's Point Masonic Hall lottery, and the lottery for raising a sum of money to buy a lot of ground in Frederickstown, in Frederick. county, and build a church and parsonage house thereon, be, and the same are, excepted from the provisions of an act, entitled an act to regulate lotteries."

They have what they call a 'Literature Lottery' in New York, going on regularly from year to year,

and the price of tickets, and divisions of tickets, is so small as to be within the reach of almost the poorest classes. A trial has recently taken place, in which it has been proved that some very unfair dealing had occurred at the drawing of a lottery; some of the managers it seems had found means to arrange, when and by whom the higher prizes should be drawn!

Another and a greater abomination, in the newspapers, are the advertisements of Slaves for Sale. These are not indeed frequent in the New York papers, although occasionally to be seen; but in those to the south they are numerous and revolting. A few days ago one of the papers here advertised, "For Sale, an excellent servant, 26 years old, *with or without a child six months old;*" and the following I copy *verbatim ac literatim*, from a Baltimore paper:—

"A FAMILY OF NEGROES FOR SALE.

"For sale, a negro MAN and his WIFE with their FOUR CHILDREN. The man is about fifty years of age, and has been accustomed to work on a farm. His eldest son about twenty, is a stout active fellow, and has been brought up to the same employment. The woman, aged forty-three, is an excellent plain cook and laundress. They have a daughter aged thirteen, a son ten, and a little girl of four years old. It would be preferred to sell the whole family to one person, or in the same neighbourhood. Security will be required for not sending them out of the State of Maryland. To avoid unnecessary trouble, it may be mentioned that the price is two thousand dollars (£450 sterling) for the whole family. For farther particulars enquire at this office."

The averment in the Declaration of Independence

that 'all men are born free and equal,' has been so frequently quoted against the Americans, that it has now become in some measure stale. Apologists for slavery among them may sophisticate as they please, but it is grossly inconsistent with the great charter of the nation; the very essence of which is that bondage in every form, in every degree, and in every circumstance, is repugnant to the plainest principles of reason and of equity. Its existence is a broad and a foul blot on the national character; and this should be unceasingly repeated in their ears, till the stain is washed away. It is common for them to cry out against the copying of such advertisements as the above, as if it were either unfair or without use; but it is neither; it may make some ingenuous American blush at the aspect which his country presents to British eyes, and while we recollect how much individual exertion availed, to abolish the slave trade in Britain, we cannot but feel that even one conscientious, and resolute, and persevering citizen of the United States, may do much to effect a corresponding change in the domestic system of his native country.

It would be unjust to forget, that the introduction of slavery into America was in opposition to the wishes of the early colonists; and therefore that neither as colonists nor as independent states, were they answerable for its getting among them. But for this they are answerable, that while they threw off the yoke of Great Britain, they did not break the

more odious, and far more oppressive bonds, with which they themselves held others in subjection; and that to this day, while a few of the States have enacted laws for the gradual abolition of domestic servitude, and some have already effected it, in many others slavery is cherished with the most resolute determination, and every attempt to ameliorate the condition or remove the ignorance of the negroes, is steadily and systematically resisted.

The abolition of slavery in a country where it has obtained a considerable footing, must of course be a very gradual measure. To emancipate at once a million and a half of ignorant creatures, whose minds, as well as bodies, have been hitherto in a state of the most abject vassalage, would be to sign the death warrant of the greater part of them; and to put in most imminent hazard the lives and properties of their recent masters. But though emancipation must be gradual, it should be regarded as in every point of view absolutely necessary; and it ought to be the anxious and unremitting care of the national Congress, that measures to effect it be speedily and heartily adopted, and perseveringly pursued. Were the American government to show an honest desire for the eradication of this taint, accompanied by strenuous efforts to accomplish it, the existence of slavery would for the present cease to be a ground of reproach; and none would more cordially wish well to such philanthropic exertions, than those who are loudest in the reprobation of the present sys-

tem. But till such measures are instituted, the country has no claim upon our forbearance.[10]

The first step towards emancipation is doubtless to instruct the negroes, and particularly their children. A no less necessary measure is to relax the odious laws which now exist, as to the power of a master over his slaves. At present a slave cannot give evidence in a court of justice against a free man; and the master has an almost unrestrained

[10] Americans of candour, as the following extract shows, hesitate not to acknowledge and lament the gross inconsistency of a free people harbouring slavery among them. "You will occasionally meet in the streets of London," says Professor Silliman, "genteel young ladies, walking with their half-brothers or more commonly with their nephews, born in India, who possess in a very strong degree, the black hair, small features, delicate form, and brown complexion of the native Hindus. These young men are received into society, and take the rank of their fathers. I confess the fact struck me rather unpleasantly. It would seem that the prejudice against colour is less strong in England than in America; for the few negroes found in this country are in a condition much superior to that of their countrymen any where else. A black footman is considered as a great acquisition, and consequently negro servants are sought for and caressed. An ill dressed or starving negro is never seen in England, and in some instances even alliances are formed between them and white girls of the lower orders of society. A few days since I met in Oxford Street a well dressed white girl, who was of a ruddy complexion and even handsome, walking arm in arm and conversing very sociably with a negro man, who was as well dressed as she, and so black that his skin had a kind of ebony lustre. As there are no slaves in England, perhaps the English have not learned to regard negroes as a degraded class of men, as we do in the United States, where we have never seen them in any other condition. It is true that in our eastern and middle states, and in all those north of the river Ohio, there are few or

power over his life.[11] The right of selling slaves ought to be placed under great restriction, and some of the more cruel features of the system altogether removed; such as the power of separating a husband and wife, from each other and from their children. The tribe of kidnappers ought to be visited with the most signal punishment; and all the legal quirks and uncertainties which at present aid their nefarious acts, and screen them from justice, effectually

no slaves, and the emancipated blacks in many instances rise to the possession of property and of some personal respectability, but probably it will never be possible to blend them by intermarriage with the whites. After all that we say, and with much truth, of the superiority of our country over others in civil liberty, it is a foul dishonour, it is a crying iniquity, it is a most glaring inconsistency, that we tolerate slavery. Other nations throw back into our face this dreadful opprobium, to which we must submit in the silence of conscious guilt and disgrace: while England deeply guilty, in having first introduced slavery among us when we were her colonies—in still sustaining it in the West Indies, and in having so long sustained the slave trade which she has at last prohibited—formerly oppressive in her attempts to subjugate us—still oppressive in her sway over the devoted millions of Asia—but proudly consistent at home, suffers no slave to contaminate her own European domain; the slave no sooner touches her shores and breathes her atmosphere, than his chains fall from his limbs, and he exults in the consciousness of liberty."—*Silliman's Travels in England, &c. 3d Edit. Vol. I. pp.* 271—3.

[11] A newspaper which I received from America since my return home, contained an advertisement offering a reward of fifty dollars for a runaway slave, *or for his head!*—and in the most ferocious language intimating that the latter would be more acceptable than the former. It added that a court of *justice* had legalized the infliction of death on the poor wretch, by any person whatever. (1822.)

removed.[12] Just now free blacks can scarcely walk the streets of New York or Philadelphia, in the evening, without the danger of falling into the talons of these miscreants, who too frequently find means by force or fraud to carry them off to the south.

After these and similar abatements have been made in the peculiar aggravations of American slavery, it may be hoped that a few years' patient and sincere exertion, might pave the way to an enactment of a similar law for the whole Union, to that which is now in operation in the State of New York; namely, that all born after a definite period should be free, and those born before that period on attaining to a certain age. Till some measure of this

[12] I copy the following from a Baltimore paper of September 1822, and it serves to expose a few of the many legalized cruelties which are inflicted even on the free blacks. It is a narrative of the proceedings of a court to which two negroes had applied for protection, from some slave traders who had attempted to carry them off to New Orleans. "The other two cases were those of two negro men, one of whom had been manumitted by a Mr Eliason in Cecil county in 1809. The other it appeared had been acting as a free man in Delaware, for several years, although whether he was actually freed before he was brought from the State, it did not clearly appear; but whether so or not, he had become entitled to his freedom by being exported from the State. These two men it appeared had been indicted for burglary in Delaware, but on trial were acquitted by the jury. It appears that by the laws of Delaware, if a man is indicted for felony and acquitted by a jury, he may nevertheless, upon a certificate of probable cause, *be condemned by the court to pay the costs, and if unable to pay them, may be sold as a servant for their payment.* If this is not the *ne plus ultra* of oppression and tyranny, I know not where it can be found. That a man should be imprisoned and indicted for an offence of

kind is adopted by the general government, the nation must be esteemed guilty of voluntarily cherishing this most abominable system. They cannot shelter themselves from this ignominy, by talking of the difficulty of getting rid of it, or by imputing the blame of its existence to those who were the masters of America a hundred years ago;—[13]

"He who allows oppression, shares the crime!"

The United States have like ourselves abolished the foreign trade in slaves. But a general belief prevails here that the law is frequently eluded, and that slaves are still smuggled into the southern States. The profits are well known to be so enormous, that

which he has not been guilty, and afterwards sold as a servant to pay the cost of his prosecution, does appear to be the climax of injustice. Yet such is the law of Delaware, and under this law the two men in question were sold for seven years, and were on their way to New Orleans. Every man can judge for himself of the likelihood of their being released, at the end of seven years, in Louisiana. Their petitions for freedom were sustained by the court; although the court said the defendant was entitled to their services during the period for which they had been sold by order of the court of Delaware, but they should not be permitted to take them out of the State."

Here is a poor fellow tried by a jury and acquitted, but by authority of the court sold as a slave for seven years to pay the expenses of the trial, and a second court sanctions and enforces the inhuman sentence!—who would have believed such a thing of the "land of liberty."

[13] As little can they extenuate their shame by reminding Britain of her West India colonies. The North American Reviewer who has attempted to do so, in the analysis of Walsh's Appeal, is quite aware that the colonies are but very partially under the control of the

if one cargo out of three is saved the adventure cannot fail to be a profitable one.[14]

But besides those who embark in this traffic, it is notorious that many Americans are engaged in the trade to Havannah. Travelling from Philadelphia to Baltimore, in August last, I met with a fellow in the stage who did not scruple to avow that he was the master of a slave ship, and that he had just conveyed a cargo from the coast of Africa to Havannah. He talked with the most hardened apathy of his miserable victims, and said they were "much obliged to him for the change." Nor did he make

body of the British nation, that they are in fact excrescences on the political system, which cannot be easily brought under the same healthful regulations with the parent country; but he knows also that much has been done by the Imperial Parliament to restrain and lessen the evils of colonial slavery, and that its ultimate abolition is the object which the people of Great Britain keep steadily in view, as the fruit of their patient exertions. It was uncandid of the reviewer to say that "all the colonies of England are stocked with slaves," he knows well that this is not the fact,—to go no farther off than Canada, where will he find one there? (1822.)

Since the preceding sentences were written, the House of Commons has solemnly pledged itself to the abolition of colonial slavery; both sides of the houses uniting to denounce it, as utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the British Constitution, and the feeling of the British nation. This is indeed "noble," and makes one exult in the name of a Briton. It was fitting that so honourable an example should be given, by that assembly which first abolished the nefarious traffic in human flesh; soon may the American Congress follow the illustrious example. (1823.)

[14] Since the period alluded to the slave trade has by the United States been declared piracy, and in all probability violations of the prohibition are less likely to occur. (1822.)

any secret of his plans; laughing at the facility with which he "cleared out at the Custom House for a cargo of gold dust and ivory, and in place of them brought back *apes*." That this brute in human shape ventured among strangers in a public carriage to avow his diabolical trade, proves of itself a lamentable state of public feeling; in Britain no one would have dared to do so.

The demoralizing effect of slavery upon the white population is very apparent. The mere reading of such advertisements as have been quoted,[15] must have a most pernicious effect upon the minds of the young; and to hear the style in which judicious, and even humane people, speak of negroes, has often struck me with amazement. In place of looking upon them as objects of peculiar sympathy, they too often seem to regard them as really an inferior race, and by no possibility capable of assimilation to the character or dignity of a white man; even when they have the candour to condemn their own conduct in so treating them, there are not many who can so far overcome their hereditary and youthful prejudices as to act otherwise.[16] It is but too true

[15] A New York paper of November, 1822, in reference to a horserace about to take place at Washington says—"The bets are immensely heavy. We have heard of one bet tendered on Sir Charles, of 800 negroes, valued at 300 dollars each!"

[16] Mr Walsh in his "Appeal from the judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States," repels with much indignation the assertions quoted from Fearon's "Sketches," that "free blacks are ex-

that many of the free negroes are idle and profligate; but after having been treated and spoken to from their infancy as *black rascals*, it would be astonishing indeed if a considerable proportion of them did not ultimately turn out so. Many pious people, however, are now exerting themselves with considerable zeal for their instruction; a great many negroes of all ages attend the Sunday Schools, and I have lately seen in one room about sixty black men at the spelling book and Bible. Some of these poor fellows were old, and their heads, like Outalissi's, were

" —— white as Appalachia's snow;"

—to witness them poring through spectacles at the spelling books, and to hear them after being prompted by their patient instructors, eagerly replying, "Now, Sir, I think I shall manage it this time!" was a truly cheering sight.

cluded from places of public worship frequented by the whites;" that "the most degraded white will not walk or eat with a negro," and that they "are practically slaves." That blacks are not absolutely excluded from places of worship, I have already oftener than once noticed; but they are uniformly restricted to a remote division of pews, and I never in any place saw a person with the slightest tinge of colour mix with the white part of the congregation. As to the second assertion I can only say, that I never saw a white and a black man either walking or eating together, nor ever heard of such a thing; on the contrary, I have every reason to believe that the affirmation is substantially correct. As to the last, the expression is no doubt strong, but in the restricted import of it there is too much truth, namely that the blacks are always treated as an inferior and

Some benevolent individuals have for some time been engaged in attempting to form a colony of free blacks, on some part of the African coast; in the hope of thus carrying away from America the whole, or a greater part, of those who are emancipated. I am afraid that the attempt will be ultimately abortive; and this is the more probable, that a large proportion of the blacks are disinclined to it themselves.[17] But supposing a considerable number to be fairly landed in Africa, what is to protect so ignorant and helpless a community from external foes or internal dissention? Unless the United States send a garrison along with them, and this they are not likely to do, the probability is that they will be pounced upon with eagerness by the native chiefs, or by the foreign traders in blood. The more considerate part of the community have already begun to doubt the practicability of the measure,[18] but an attempt has been made, and experience must prove the result.

degraded race. This qualified corroboration of Mr. Fearon's statements on *one subject*, will not I trust be construed into a general agreement with his strictures on American manners.

[17] It is said that the African Society of Boston, one of whose festivals I have commemorated, at their annual dinner in 1820, toasted the projector of the measure in the following significant style:—"Mr Clay and our coloured brethren, if he wants them to go, why does he not go himself?"

[18] "We are convinced, "says the North American Review, "that even supposing the colony to be successfully established, the difficulties are not overcome; every scheme of colonization, if it do not act

I have not been far enough south, to say much from personal observation of the treatment which slaves experience from their owners. For this it would have been necessary to have visited the cotton, rice, and tobacco plantations; to have seen slavery where masters act without the powerful restraint of public opinion. In a private family in which I lived for a short time, there was a female slave, but she was treated, so far as I could see, with as much kindness as our servants at home.

23d. A trial took place a few days ago at Baltimore, which has excited considerable interest. The defendant was a man of the name of Taylor, who has been in some way connected with the fitting out of vessels of war, in that port, for the ostensible purpose of aiding the patriots of South America. I believe that the prosecution was instituted through the influence of the Spanish ambassador; but it has resulted in such a way as to injure rather than benefit his cause. This is a free country, and it is not easy to prevent liberty from degenerating occasionally into licentiousness. The newspapers have been filled with the most ridiculous rhodomontade, in their account of the trial, and the

as a bounty on the multiplication of blacks, can have no effect in diminishing their numbers in this country. The inevitable tendency of colonization will be that which is so much deplored in poor laws, that of being regarded as a resource and provision for a certain amount of blacks, and thus directly encouraging their increase."—*North American Review, No. XXVIII. pp.* 16, 17.

speeches of the counsel. The following is by a Philadelphia editor:—

"The trial of Commodore Taylor is just over—The jury found him *not guilty* under every count in the indictment. Perhaps no prosecution ever was instituted so utterly destitute of foundation, as was this accusation for piracy. The verdict of the jury was received with acclamations more honourable to the feelings of a large audience, than becoming a court of justice. Mr. Galloway, who was in England, and listened to the famous speeches of Burke and Chatham, in the time of the American Revolution, declared that he had never heard any thing comparable to that of Mr. Pinkney in support of the contested validity of Taylor's commission."

This is modesty itself however to what follows by a Baltimore scribe:—

"Mr. Pinkney rose at half past ten to address the court, on the inadmissibility of introducing the mention of captures not contained in the indictment. To convey an adequate idea of this masterly performance, would require talents far beyond what we possess, and almost equal to those of that distinguished lawyer himself. There is in the eloquence of Mr. Pinkney a majesty and force which baffle the power of analysis, and lead us captive in the chains of admiration. Expectation was high on Saturday; it was understood that he would speak, and the court-room was filled at an early hour. It was known he would be great, for he is always so; but not satisfied with that, he surpassed himself, and evinced a superhuman mind. His legal knowledge, his close reasoning, his oratorical powers, his general information, all were wonderful. Mr. Pinkney has perfectly at command the *ardentia verba;* his enunciation is uniformly chaste, classic and forcible. Of him it may with truth be said, he communicates his sentiments

"——— in such apt and gracious words,
That aged ears play truant at his tales;
And younger hearings are quite ravished,
So sweet and voluble is his discourse."

The editor of the New York Daily Advertiser,—a paper characterized by more good sense, and correct principle, than are to be found in nine tenths of those that are published,—makes the following judicious remarks on this inflated stuff.

"We doubt whether there is a country in the world that raises such a multitude of astonishingly great men as ours. We have no doubt, taking newspaper accounts as the rule of decision, we should find in the course of a single year, in various parts of the United States, not less than a score or two of 'superhuman minds;' accompanied by most or all the supernatural qualities which in the preceding paragraph, are ascribed to the gentleman mentioned therein."

A great many of the American newspapers are edited by men of very inferior talents and acquirements, and are by no means a correct index either to the sentiments or to the abilities of society at large. Perhaps this has in a great degree arisen from the difference between an American paper and a British one. With us they are principally the vehicles of political news, disquisition, and debate; and the success of the paper depends partly on the editor's political sentiments, but chiefly upon his literary talent, and general information. In America, the newspapers are frequently mere lists of commercial advertisements, which usually occupy from three fourths to four fifths of the sheet. There is no tax either upon advertisements

or papers, and the number of advertisers is therefore enormous. With us the editor depends for the principal power of attraction on his own head; and gives us in his leading article a comprehensive abstract of the news of the day, with some criticisms on causes, and anticipation of consequences. In America the most attractive of the literary department, even to natives, consists of extracts from the London and Liverpool papers, headed in large capitals, *Latest from England*; the editor's own article is frequently a heterogeneous mass, without beginning, middle, or end, and often without reference to news of any kind; the debates in Congress are given merely in detached and ill-assorted scraps, and the remainder of the paper is filled with squabbles about local politics, and city grievances. It is obvious therefore that to conduct a paper here, is a much less arduous effort than at home; and as there are generally ten times as many in a given space, it is to be expected that the greater number will be in a literary point of view quite beneath criticism.

What has been stated accounts, in some measure, for the absurdities which abound in some American papers with regard to our native country; although it must at the same time be acknowledged, that they have had abundant provocation on our part. A few of the more respectable journals, honouring the British nation as a free, enlightened, and moral people, hesitate not to award us that respect and

gratitude, which America owes to the source of all that is estimable in her national character, or valuable in her political system; and while they temperately criticise our errors, candidly acknowledge their own. But the greater proportion of the democratic papers, which form a large majority of the whole, making it their trade to pander to the prejudices, and foster the antipathies, of the most ignorant of their countrymen, keep no terms with us either in one thing or another. They can see nothing in Britain but deformity; moral, mercantile, political, and religious. Our King is a despot, our people slaves, our parliament the ready tools of tyranny. Waking and sleeping their minds are haunted with the idea that we are their natural and implacable foes, and they scarcely ever make an observation upon their own country, without converting it into a text for abusing ours.[19]

[19] A Richmond paper extracting a few paragraphs from Dr. Chalmers's Sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte, introduces them with the following precious morsel of criticism. "Take from the following the vein of *loyalty* (a *loyalty* as ridiculous, as abhorrent to common sense, as it is to the best understood dispensations of the Christian religion;) and there still remains eloquence enough, (fervent [*q. fervid?*] and affecting eloquence,) to entitle the passage to a place in an American republican paper." A Maryland paper announcing newly published 'Regulations for the United States' Navy,' inscribes a *hic jacet* on that of Britain. "It is only in fighting the battles of *freemen*, that we either hope or expect to see the navy of the United States carry along with it the hearts of the people; and without that support, whatever transient glory it may acquire, like the wooden walls of Old England it must finally

The personalities, which too frequently abound in the American papers, form another distinguishing feature. The editors write in the singular number, and abuse each other by name;[20] while

decay and perish." One of the leading journals at Washington, in replying to some remarks which had been made on the inconsistency of the gorgeous decorations of the Capitol and the President's House, with the plainness of republican principles, says, that as a celebrated English divine had expressed his regret, that all the finest tunes should be monopolized "in the service of the devil," so they could not help being indignant, that architectural magnificence and grandeur were hitherto "no where to be found, but in the abodes of slaves and tyrants." A Philadelphia paper says, "Our country is the only one upon the face of the earth, where a rational and genuine liberty exists; where the voice of the people is listened to and obeyed." A Baltimore editor, alluding to a Life of Bonaparte that some ingenious citizen had published, gives a sample of his knowledge of modern times by gravely assuring his readers, that "the whole history of this man's life, up to the 28th [18th] June, on which day the battle of Waterloo took place, was a continued and uninterrupted series of good fortune." I quote these absurdities from no unfriendly feeling towards America, and I readily grant that passages quite as ridiculous in reference to America, may be selected from British journals, even of high reputation; but in writing as to facts, I must state them as they really are.

[20] The following reply, from one New York editor to another, is a specimen of this warfare; it is somewhat singular that in this instance the name of the antagonist is not given *totidem literis*.

"In the ——— of this morning is an insinuation, which I consent to notice, merely on account of those friends who live at a distance. It is an insinuation that I am given to intemperance, and is a thrice repeated calumny in the same paper. I am afflicted with a growing, and, I believe, an incurable weakness in my knees, which commenced two or three years since, and often produces an unsteadiness of gait; this bodily infirmity, the humane and generous and veracious editor has not been above representing as a deformity of mind,

opponents in state or city politics, throw mud at all around them without measure or remorse.[21]

After all, in judging of American newspapers, we must keep in mind that it is only within these thirty or forty years, that those at home have been distinguished by great literary talent; and that it is to Woodfall, Junius, Perry, and a few such men, that we in a great measure owe their towering state of excellence. Even these distinguished individuals, could not have accomplished in America what they accomplished at home; neither the political institutions nor the state of society would have admitted of it.

Perhaps as a sequel to these rambling remarks on newspapers, a few words may not be inappropriate on the sentiments which prevail in America with regard to our native country; and I know not

proceeding from an odious and degrading vice; but to which I venture to say, no person, however inimical, including himself, ever suspected me to be in the slightest possible degree addicted. If it is thought that I ought to have treated this slander with silent scorn, I answer, I should have done so, if the cold blooded calumny were confined in its circulation to the quarter in which I reside." *New York Paper, Nov. 21st.* 1822.

[21] Candour requires the humiliating confession, that this is no longer peculiar to American newspapers. Our own periodical literature has, of late years, been disgraced by the intrusion of journals, established, as it would seem, for scarcely any other purpose, than that of dealing out the most atrocious slanders, and the most disgusting personal abuse. The editors of these seem to have no idea, of the fearful responsibility which talents and acquirements carry with them, for the use to which they are applied.

how I can introduce these better than by an extract from a biographical sketch of our townsman, the elegant author of the Pleasures of Hope, written by a gentleman of New York.[22]

"Whatever may be the occasional collisions of etiquette and interest, which will inevitably take place between two great commercial nations, whose property and people are spread far and wide on the face of the ocean; whatever may be the clamorous expressions of hostility vented at such times by our unreflecting populace, or rather uttered in their name by a host of hireling scribblers, who pretend to speak the sentiments of the people; it is certain that the well educated and well informed class of our citizens, entertain a deep-rooted good will and a rational esteem for Great Britain. It is almost impossible it should be otherwise. Independent of those hereditary affections, which spring up spontaneously for the nation from whence we have descended, the single circumstance of imbibing our ideas from the same authors has a powerful effect in causing an attachment.

"The writers of Great Britain are the adopted citizens of our country, and though they have no

[22] This elegant and highly interesting specimen of biographical narrative, is an early production of Mr. Washington Irving's; it is prefixed to a neat pocket edition of Campbell's Poetical Works, published at Philadelphia in 1815, and it is sufficient to add, that it is every way worthy of the author of the Sketch Book. So far as the author knows, it has never yet appeared from a British press.

legislative voice, exercise an authority over our opinions and affections, cherished by long habit, and matured by affection. In these works we have British valour, British magnanimity, British might, and British wisdom, continually before our eyes, portrayed in the most captivating colours; and are thus brought up in the constant contemplation of all that is amiable and illustrious in the British character. To these works likewise we resort, in every varying mood of mind or vicissitude of fortune. They are our delight in the hour of relaxation, the solemn monitors and instructors of our closet, our comforters in the gloomy seclusions of life-loathing despondency. In the season of early life, in the strength of manhood, and still in the weakness or apathy of age, it is to them we are indebted for our hours of refined and unalloyed enjoyment. When we turn our eyes to England, therefore, from whence this bounteous tide of literature flows in upon us, it is with such feelings as the Egyptian experiences, when he looks towards the sacred source of that stream, which rising in a far distant country, flows down upon his own barren soil, diffusing riches, beauty and fertility."

What could the most jealous stickler for his country's honour wish more than this? What kindliness of feeling could he desire towards it, which this does not display? Of this testimony of Campbell's biographer, I can add my unqualified corroboration; and I can safely go even farther

than he has done. He alludes to Britain chiefly in its literary character, but by that large and respectable class of American citizens, whose good will and esteem it is of most importance to enjoy, Britain is no less honoured as the fountain head of civil liberty, and, in a certain sense, the well spring of religious knowledge. They look upon Britain as that sacred spot of earth, where the fetters of mental tyranny were first effectually broken; and from which light of the purest kind has emanated to a benighted world. I have mingled with Americans of all classes, and of almost all professions; I have heard them speak their minds spontaneously and without restraint, and I can without hesitation say, that there are few, whose good opinion is worth having, who do not unite in good will towards the people of my native country.[23] Doubtless a con-

[23] Notwithstanding the strong and universal attachment of Americans to their republican constitution, and notwithstanding their enthusiastic anticipations of future glory resulting from this as the efficient cause, those who dispassionately reflect, and honestly express their opinion, make no difficulty in acknowledging that the experiment is still immature, and that it would be wrong as yet to pronounce upon the absolute superiority of the American constitution. A few lines from the North American Review will be sufficient, to show the manly candour and liberality with which the subject is treated.

"For ourselves," say the Reviewers, "we profess that we think the English frame of government better adapted to its object, than any of which the world has yet had full experience. We now consider our own constitutions as out of the question; whatever may be our opinion of them, and however encouraging may be the

siderable degree of soreness exists, at the illiberal treatment which America has received from a certain class of British writers; and also some degree of impatience at the credulity with which their libellous absurdities have been received; but they are generally well aware, that a great degree of ignorance prevails among us as to their real character, and it does not need much to persuade them, that were they better known, they would be more generally respected.

Some of our own countrymen, indeed, are the bitterest enemies that Britain has, in this part of the western world. I quarrel not with a man who emigrates to another clime, whatever be the motive that impels him, so long as he treats with a moderate degree of candour the institutions and

promise they hold forth, we do not consider them as yet sufficiently tried, to be brought into comparison with those which have stood the test of ages." *North American Review, No. XXXIII. p.* 359.

"The felicity of England," says the same journal, "consists, not in the superior virtue of the citizens, but in the admirable adaptation of her government to the nature and wants of men. The glory of the English arms, does not arise from the superior physical bravery of her soldiers over those of any other nation. There are brave men and cowards in all armies. But the English soldier knows that the performance of his duty offers him a surer and richer reward, than could be derived from the most successful criminal enterprize. English politicians are probably not more sincere than those of other nations, but such is the force of public opinion, that the demagogue to gain his ends must act the patriot. It is the excellence of the English government, to have done better than any other in Europe, all that the best government can do, namely, to make the bad, as well as the good qualities of its subjects, subservient to the public.

the people which he left behind; but I have little charity for those who turn with all the virulence of renegadoes to traduce the land which gave them birth, and almost invoke the wrath of Heaven upon its civil and social interests. I have had discussions with native Americans upon almost every political subject that was likely to occasion diversity of opinion; I have talked with many of those who were personally engaged in the conflicts of last war, and with some who lost the whole of their property in the ravages which it occasioned, but all discussed the subjects with good temper, almost all with candour, and some even with a degree of friendliness to the British side, which I could not have expected;—but from a naturalized Scotsman or Irishman, who had imbibed democratic principles,

This trait has been so well defined by a late French traveller in England, that we shall be excused for using his words. 'England, after all, is the only country in the world, where chance perhaps, as much as human wisdom, compounding with the vices and virtues of our species, has effected a treaty between them, assigning to each their respective and proper shares, and framed its political constitution, on the constitution of human nature.' We cannot, however, agree in allowing this praise exclusively to the government of England; we believe it to be the characteristic of all free governments." *North American Review, No. XXXVI. p.* 54.

Such fair and honourable treatment, from the only literary journal which has yet obtained the general support and confidence of the American nation, ought to make us ashamed of the ungenerous and illiberal manner, in which their country and government have been so often handled by some of our periodical writers. The day is surely coming when the British public will refuse to allow their good sense to be so flagrantly insulted.

and who fairly gave vent to his sentiments and feelings, I never heard aught but the most unmeasured abuse and misrepresentation of Britain and all that belongs to it.

A clergyman of New York, during last war, preached a series of discourses to his congregation, for the express purpose of justifying the war, and stimulating the people to a more lively co-operation with government in the invasion of Canada, and in the various other hostile operations. These discourses were delivered to overflowing audiences, and when finished, the author, 'to serve' as he assures us in his advertisement 'the cause of humanity, of his country, and of his God, consented to give them to the public.' We have heard much of the Indian war-whoop, and of the savage fury with which they rush upon their prey, but there could scarcely be a war-whoop more unrelenting and vindictive than that which is sounded in these War Sermons. The British government is denounced as 'a despotic usurpation;' every species of wickedness, civil, moral, and ecclesiastical is heaped upon its head; and the preacher exclaims with horror and amazement, "O my God and my Redeemer, to such a monarchy, with all its impious usurpation of the rights of God, do any of thy disciples profess an attachment? Ah how frail a thing is man!" My eyes are as open as this reverend divine's to important faults in our political system, and especially to the unnatural and per-

nicious connexion between matters civil and ecclesiastical; but that government which gives security of person and property, and what is more, civil and religious liberty, to all *of every colour* who tread her happy shores, shall have in civil matters both my attachment and my support; and looking at the characteristic features of the various governments which are around us, and the domestic system which each supports, I know not the country where I would so willingly 'nail my colours to the mast,' and identify my fortune with hers, as 'my own, my native land.'

This minister was born and educated—*dicere pudet*—in Scotland; and while he was thus preaching a crusade against the land which gave him birth, other clergymen of New York, born and educated in the United States, set themselves most steadily against the war, and the party which carried it on; and one even rendered himself so conspicuous by his opposition, that he found it necessary to keep for some time an armed guard in his house, to protect him from the fury of the mob. I do not justify either the one or the other, in making the pulpit a place of political declamation; but if the subject of politics may be introduced at all, surely the cry of peace, and not of war, should emanate from that place which was built to proclaim 'good will towards men!'

It was a joyful evening when the tidings of peace reached New York! I have heard it spoken of

oftener than once, and each narrator seemed to paint in more glowing colours than another, the effect which the unexpected intelligence produced throughout the city. A clergyman told me that he was sitting in his study after dinner, ruminating with gloomy despondency on the prospect which seemed before them. The country was in the utmost distress; the intercourse between one district of it and another almost broken up, the merchant vessels rotting in the harbour, and business of every kind at a stand. Government was scarcely able with all its exertions to raise the necessary supplies; the secretary of the navy had talked of having recourse to impressment to man the ships of war; in some of the Eastern States a dissolution of the Federal compact was openly and every where talked of; and, what to the individual alluded to was more immediately distressing, many of the members of his congregation, and thousands of his fellow citizens, were reduced to poverty and want; while the latest despatches from Ghent gave not the slightest hope of a cessation of hostilities. While in the very act of contemplating these miseries of war, and anticipating the approach of yet greater distress, he heard an unusual bustle in the street; and going to the window he threw it up and looked over. People were running backwards and forwards, gathering into knots and talking with the utmost earnestness, then separating and going away. He thought that it might be fire, although

he could not account for the silence of the church bells;—watching the first person that approached he called out to him 'What is the matter?' 'Peace Sir!' shouted the replier, 'Peace! Peace!'—'Peace,' exclaimed the minister in astonishment, 'is it possible!' Down he hurried to the coffee-room, to learn how the news had come, and what reliance was placed on them. The coffee-room was in the utmost commotion, every one congratulating another, and asking questions without waiting for a reply. A British sloop of war had arrived with a flag of truce at Sandy Hook, and had brought the cheering tidings that the preliminaries of peace were signed, and that no doubt was entertained as to their speedy ratification. It was enough;—despondency gave place to joy and gratitude, and the welcome sound spreading like wildfire through the city, old and young re-echoed the announcement. Troops of boys paraded the streets shouting Peace! Peace! Peace! and on the approach of evening, the citizens with one consent lighted up their windows, and a spontaneous and universal illumination blazed along the streets, from the Battery to Greenwich.

Among others whom the unexpected tidings startled were two young ladies, one a native of England, the other of America, sitting together in the parlour. The electrifying word was no sooner pronounced, than our enthusiastic countrywoman flew to the piano-forte, and throwing it open gave

vent to her emotion in the loud and thrilling anthem, 'God save great George our King!'—the fair American waited impatiently for the concluding bar, and with no less enthusiasm, and certainly no less sincerity of delight, gave as a response, 'Hail Columbia, happy land!' On the following Sabbath, the voice of praise and thanksgiving was heard in every church. How the author of the war sermons acted, I have not heard; but the minister who had so conspicuously distinguished himself by his opposition to the war, concluded an animated call to gratitude, for the return of tranquillity, with Cowper's immortal line—

"England, with all thy faults I love thee still!"

25th. Christmas. The stores almost all shut. Episcopalians at church, and other people amusing themselves. Went in the forenoon to a Romish chapel, or rather cathedral, which has lately been erected at the upper extremity of the city.

The interior is a kind of attempt at Gothic, and the wall at the upper end, behind the altar, is covered with an effort at perspective in sized colours, intended to deceive the eye by the appearance of long withdrawing aisles and arches; the effect however is miserable. There were three priests mumbling Latin in the usual style; one of them was the Bishop, and the other two had a prodigious deal of trouble in getting him ensconced in a kind of arm chair, under a canopy, and sticking

on his head a paper mitre covered with tinsel. The priests and their decorations wanted sadly the substantial splendour of their brethren in Fayal and Canada, and the whole establishment was evidently no way in danger from repletion.

At a tea party last night. A tea party is a serious thing in this country, and some of those at which I have been present in New York and elsewhere, have been on a very large scale. In the modern houses the two principal apartments are on the first floor, and communicate by large folding doors, which on gala days throw wide their ample portals, converting the two apartments into one. At the largest party which I have seen, there were about thirty young ladies present, and more than as many gentlemen. Every sofa, chair and footstool, were occupied by the ladies, and little enough room some of them appeared to have after all. The gentlemen were obliged to be content with walking up and down, talking now with one lady, now with another. Tea was brought in by a couple of blacks, carrying large trays, one covered with cups, the other with cake. Slowly making the round, and retiring at intervals for additional supplies, the ladies were gradually gone over; and after much patience the gentlemen began to enjoy the beverage 'which cheers but not inebriates;' still walking about, or leaning against the wall, with the cup and saucer in their hand.

As soon as the first course was over, the hospitable trays again entered bearing a chaos of

preserves—peaches, pine apples, ginger, oranges, citrons, pears, &c. in tempting display. A few of the young gentlemen now accompanied the revolution of the trays, and sedulously attended to the pleasure of the ladies. The party was so numerous that the period between the commencement and the termination of the round, was sufficient to justify a new solicitation; and so the ceremony continued, with very little intermission during the whole evening. Wine succeeded the preserves, and dried fruit followed the wine; which in its turn was supported by sandwiches in name of supper, and a forlorn hope of confectionary and frost work. I pitied the poor blacks who, like Tantalus, had such a profusion of dainties the whole evening at their finger ends, without the possibility of partaking of them. A little music and dancing gave variety to the scene; which to some of us was a source of considerable satisfaction, for when a number of ladies were on the floor, those who cared not for the dance had the pleasure of getting a seat. About eleven o'clock I did myself the honour of escorting a lady home, and was well pleased to have an excuse for escaping.

At one occasion of this kind a Romish priest was of the party; and his vows of celibacy were no obstacle to his warbling, *con molto espressione*, 'Jessie the flower of Dumblane,' 'Said a smile to a tear,' and sundry other erotic ditties.

LETTER XIX.

LETTER XIX.

NEW YEAR'S DAY—STANZAS—NAVY CHAPLAIN—WHETHER A WHALE IS A FISH—SNOW AND SLEIGH-RIDING—PREVALENCE OF PULMONARY COMPLAINTS—DRESS—NEW YORK INSTITUTION —ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS—LYCEUM—MUSEUM—LITERARY SOCIETY—HISTORICAL SOCIETY—MR. VERPLANK'S DISCOURSE—REMARKS ON AMERICAN LITERATURE—INDICATIONS OF IMPROVEMENT — AMERICAN LANGUAGE — UNFAIRNESS OF TRAVELLERS — DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTION — BANKS — INSURANCE COMPANIES—A FUNERAL—TRAVELLING IN AMERICA —STEAM BOATS—STAGES—POST OFFICE REGULATIONS—INNS —NEW YORK POLICE—MORALS—ORPHAN ASYLUM—AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM—RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS—ON THE CONTINUANCE OF AMERICAN FREEDOM —OBSTACLES FROM SLAVERY AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE— ON THE INDUCEMENTS TO EMIGRATION—CONCLUSION.

New York, January, 1819.

Jan. 1*st.* THE return of New Year's day brings vividly before me the associated scenes of youthful festivity, and many warm and endearing recollections of my native land. I am in the country of strangers, but 'the friends of my youth' are not without my good wishes, at this periodical season of congratulations, and I know well that they have not forgotten 'Here's to him that's far awa.'

The evening of yesterday was spent in a Scotish

family, where the recollection of national customs is faithfully kept up. A pretty numerous party were present to celebrate 'Hockmanay;' and we kept together 'as use is,' till the clocks of the city had tolled the knell of expiring time, and we had an opportunity of reciprocating with each other the wish of many happy new years. You who have never been borne over the foaming billows of the mighty deep—who have never been separated by the broad Atlantic, from all that you hold dearest in this world—who have never wandered in the interior of a vast continent, among strangers who know nothing, and care nothing, about your former life or your future expectations—cannot appreciate the magic influence of a little circle of your countrymen, met to keep alive the manners and the festivals of your native land. In going home I found no disturbance in the streets, nor any of that outrageous jollity which is so prevalent at home; 'first-footing' with all its fun, noise, and absurdity, is unknown in New York.

Most of the churches here have sermon on New Year's day morning. I attended at a presbyterian church, and heard an impressive address from the important words—'Give an account of thy stewardship.' This passage naturally suggested counsel and admonition, on the performance of our various personal and relative duties; the preacher first adverted to our public duties, as being severally ecclesiastical, literary, professional, or domestic;

and then to the private ones, as relating to our time, our body, our mind, the gifts of providence, and the blessings of grace. Surely it is not unsuitable to be reminded of such things in commencing a new revolution of the fleeting months; and I can bear testimony to the ability with which the several topics were illustrated, and the solemnity and effect with which the duty of improving the present hour, was pressed home upon the audience.

As soon as service was over, a busy scene began. It is the rule here that on New Year's day you visit every family of your acquaintance, even though the acquaintance should be very slight; many, I am told, give and receive calls on this occasion who do not see each other again throughout the whole year. The ladies stay at home to receive visitors, the gentlemen go about. Clergymen however are, in virtue of their office, entitled to the same attention as the ladies, and a call at their levee is never on any account omitted. As all these visits must be over before dinner, they are necessarily very short. Wine and cake are on the parlour table and you are invited to partake of them, but as this is impossible at every house, it is never insisted on; you shake hands, exchange good wishes, and in general, without even sitting down, are off immediately. In such a matter as this, there was no difficulty in complying with the maxim, "While in Rome, do as they do in Rome," I therefore walked about among my friends with

great activity till near three o'clock, when I found dinner beginning to make its appearance.

This custom is it seems of Dutch origin, and when performed according to the ancient rules of hospitality, every visitor, if he did not remain long enough to eat his *cookie*, as the little round cake provided for the occasion is called, was obliged to carry it away in his pocket. In these degenerate times, however, this is scarcely ever asked, and still more rarely insisted on.

In the course of a day or two the clergymen begin to repay the calls which they have received, and every family was in former times expected to be provided with a cookie, of Brobdignag dimensions, for the *Dominie*, as the minister was styled by the Dutchmen. In general, the privilege of declining the proffered dainty, is now conceded to the parson as well as to his flock; but it is said that a few years ago one of the older clergymen of the Dutch church was so universal a favourite, that he found it necessary to be accompanied in this annual parochial visitation by his beadle, who carried a large green bag, and at the corner of every street relieved the worthy Dominie's pockets, of the overflowing bounty of his parishioners.

The following touching stanzas, not inappropriate at this season, are ascribed, I know not on what authority, to the late favourite daughter of our beloved monarch. I found them a few days ago in a young lady's Album; it is possible that

they may have been copied from an English magazine, but they are new to me, and may perhaps be so to you also:—

"SAID TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY THE LATE

PRINCESS AMELIA;

A SHORT TIME BEFORE HER DEATH.

I

"Unthinking, idle, wild, and young,
I laughed, and talked, and danced, and sung;
Proud of my health, of beauty vain,
Thoughtless of sorrow, care, or pain;
Believing, in those hours of glee,
That all the world was made for me.

II.

"But when the day of trial came,
When sickness shook my trembling frame,
When folly's gay pursuit was o'er,
And I could laugh and sing no more,
It then occurred—how sad t'would be,
Were this world only made for me!"

4th. Among the inmates of our boarding-house, while I resided here in summer, was a surgeon of the United States' navy; a young man of mild and agreeable manners, correct deportment, and considerable information. In 1815 and 1816, Dr. —— served in the Mediterranean. In the small squadron to which he was attached, there was a chaplain, whose history presents a sad picture of the neglect-

ed state of the poor sailors. This person commenced his career as an actor, but had been obliged to abandon the stage in consequence of his excessive dissipation. He next tried the army, but a very few months sufficed to make it disown him. Last of all he became accidentally acquainted with the Commodore of the American squadron, a short time before it sailed from Boston, and his conversational and convivial talents having pleased the commander, he procured his appointment as chaplain, as there seemed to be no *other* office for which he was at all qualified. The ship's crew were probably pretty well pleased with their chaplain; he had tolerable literary talents, could *spout* a pathetic passage with much effect, was not scrupulously bigoted to any creed, nor very unbending on the score of moral restraint:—moreover he could sing a jovial song, played a good hand at whist, and never carried his love of retirement farther, if the officers knocked at his cabin door when it was not agreeable to him to turn out, than to swear a round oath and tell them that he was busy with his next Sunday's sermon!

While the squadron was in port at a small island, a British one arrived and lay for some time beside it. The British squadron had no chaplain at all,[1] and on Sabbath when the weather was good, and church rigged out in the American ship, some of

[1] My only authority for this statement is that which has been specified; I feel complete confidence however in its accuracy.

the officers used to go on board and hear this worthy preach. It happened while the fleets continued together, that an English lady on the island became dangerously ill, and expressed an ardent desire to have the *sacrament* administered to her, according to the ritual of her national church. Her husband being unable to find a chaplain in the British fleet, came on board the American, and urgently intreated the reverend divine to go on shore and perform this office to the dying lady. Hardened as he was, however, he at first shrunk from it, and excused himself by saying that he had never studied for the ministry, nor received ordination, and that though he preached to the ship's company, he had never exercised any other of the functions of a clergyman. The lady became gradually weaker, and in a few days her husband came again on board, and urged him so earnestly to comply with her request, that he at last consented;—went on shore, administered the sacrament in the prescribed form to the poor expiring woman, and returning in the evening, sat down in the ward room with the officers, and got drunk before going to bed!

5th. A good deal of amusement has been excited for some days, by a trial which has been instituted to determine whether whale oil is, or is not, fish oil. An act had been passed ordering the inspection of fish oil, and of course appointing fees to the inspecting officer; but the dealers in whale oil had refused to allow it to be inspected, on the plea that it did

not come within the meaning of the act; which they contended applied only to the oil of seals, cods, and other small fishes; and among other grounds of defence they chose the singular one, that a whale is in reality not a fish at all! To support this assertion, an eminent naturalist was called by the defendants, who entered into many very learned physiological arguments to substantiate the point, and as a corroborative argument cited the Mosaic narrative of the creation, in which that of whales is specifically mentioned, notwithstanding of the general statement as to fishes;—this he contended would not have been, had whales been there included. The counsel for the pursuers, however, were more than a match for the learned naturalist in Biblical knowledge, and referring to the history of Jonah, showed that the 'great fish,' which swallowed him up when thrown out of the vessel, is in the New Testament expressly called a 'whale' when the prophet is spoken of as having been three days and three nights in its belly. The result was that the defendants lost the cause.

6*th*. We have had a considerable fall of snow for a few days, and yesterday afternoon I enjoyed for the first time a ride in a sleigh. Sleighs are in general open above, and have cross seats like those of a stage waggon, capable of accommodating eight or ten persons. The driver stands in front protected by a curved board which rises up to keep out the snow.

Sleigh riding is a favourite amusement in the moonlight evenings, and we met a great many on the road; the bells on the harness kept up a perpetual jingling. To whirl along however in an open carriage, in a frosty night, is exceedingly benumbing, and I fear that this amusement is one cause of the pulmonary complaints which abound so much in New York. There were last year upwards of 500 deaths from consumption alone, and the greater number of victims were young females. The dress of the ladies is one obvious cause. In a bleak December day, if there is a slight glimpse of sunshine, you may see them walking Broadway in gossamer dresses of silks and gauze, with their throats perfectly bare. In strong contrast with these fair daughters of the spring, the city sparks lounge along enveloped in thick box coats, with eight or ten capes, and roll after roll of cravats and silk handkerchiefs swathed under their chins.

Another custom prevails among the ladies no less pernicious. On Sabbath they may be seen picking their steps to church through drifting snow, in silk or cotton stockings, and shoes scarcely thicker than a cobweb; so far as I can observe a worsted stocking is to American ladies an unknown comfort. Behind them comes a little black girl carrying a small tin box, pierced with holes, containing a little pan of live charcoal, or the glowing embers of hickory wood. This box is used as a footstool during service, and after the feet have been

toasted over it for a couple of hours
erable local perspiration excited, the
ing home exposes herself as before t
of the weather. I was surprised to
use in this cold region; and the c
which I can hear of it, is, that they
quently made use of by the light-fi
auxiliary in pilfering, that it has be
ble to wear them. This is, I suppo
trick at home as in New York, but
tonished if it were to lead to the int
so very comfortable an article of fe

The male portion of the com
more careful to regulate their clothi
of the weather. In the hot month
are seen with a thin cotton dressing
coat of cotton or bombasin, and a
brim twice as broad as a quaker's
silk. In winter they resort to all
great coats, box coats, fur gloves

7th. I find on glancing over my j
of my summer memoranda have
communicated; accept of them no

I was conducted (July 29th) by
New York Institution. The bui
minated are a plain range of bric
Hall, with apartments occupied b
Academy of Fine Arts, the Lyc
History, and Scudder's Museum:
rooms for the meetings, library, an

Literary and Philosophical Society, and the Historical Society. The committee rooms are decorated with portraits and busts, and in the Academy of Fine Arts are a number of casts and paintings. The Lyceum of Natural History does not seem to be as yet thoroughly systematized; besides subjects in the branch of science to which it is devoted, it contains a number of Indian weapons and articles of dress, and what, if genuine, is a much greater curiosity, a mass of hardened clay, about a foot square and four inches thick, of a light yellowish colour, which is, *or ought to be*, a Babylonian brick:—a little scepticism however upon this subject may perhaps be excusable.[2]

Scudder's Museum is a private collection, and though not very extensive, contains a good deal worth seeing. The subjects in Natural History are preserved with a degree of skill which is rarely found in similar exhibitions. The shape is occasionally a little stiff, but the furs of the quadrupeds and plumage of the birds are in beautiful condition. One of the glass cases contains a singular

[2] I know not whether it is to this mass, that the lively author of Fanny alludes, in the following stanza:—

"Money is power, 'tis said—I never tried;
For I'm a poet—and bank notes to me
Are curiosities, as closely eyed,
Whene'er I get them, as a stone would be,
Toss'd from the moon on Dr. Mitchill's table,
Or *classic brick-bat from the tower of Babel.*"

Fanny, stanza VI.

assemblage of water and land turtles, of all sizes, from the most gigantic to the most diminutive. The *Lambert* of the case, called the Leviathan Turtle, is 7½ feet long and 13 feet in circumference; it was caught by a New York pilot boat, about thirty miles off Sandy Hook, and weighed when killed 800 pounds, although it was thought that it lost about 200 pounds of blood in the conflict. Some of its neighbours in the glass case are not above an inch in length; one of them, however, small as it is, has two heads and six legs. Behind a screen is a dried human body, from a saltpetre cave in Kentucky. It is called an Indian mummy, but is probably a remnant of the more ancient race by which the vast mounds in Ohio were erected. The body, which seems to have been fully grown, is in a sitting posture, the knees up to the mouth; the skin is evidently entire, as well as the hair of the head, but the whole is shrivelled and shrunk in a singular manner. The upper floor of this repository is disfigured with most revolting figures in wax, among which are Saul, Samuel, and the witch of Endor; prodigies of absurdity and bad taste.[3] On a partition in the centre of this room are some

[3] This seems a favourite subject for illustration among American artificers in wax; there is another groupe of the same in what is called a museum at Albany. Mr. Scudder's Saul wears a blue silk coat and small clothes, covered with spangles; the witch sits on a parlour chair in a printed cotton gown, with a white shawl, cap, and black riband; and Samuel sports a white cotton night cap.

immense paintings, in sized colours, of the naval actions of last war in which America was victorious. The fable says, 'if lions were painters,'—and we must put up with the mortification which the brush and the graver here frequently offer to British feelings. Our print sellers exhibit in their windows the Shannon and the Chesapeake; the American artists take ample amends with the Guerriere, the Java, the Macedonian, and the squadrons of Barclay and Downie.

The members of the New York Historical Society, which meets in the adjoining rooms, have produced some able memoirs, chiefly of men who have deserved well of their country; and the last anniversary discourse, delivered on 7th December by Mr. G. C. Verplank, well upholds the respectability of the series. Mr. Verplank has devoted his essay to the commemoration of those Europeans who rendered themselves conspicuous in the various ages of American history, by conferring 'the blessings of religion, morals, letters, and liberty,' on the western world. In this discourse, which has been printed, the author enters into an enthusiastic defence of the memory of Las Casas, from the imputation of his having encouraged the introduction of negro slavery, into the Spanish American colonies; a charge which has been supported by Robertson, Raynal, Marmontel, and others. In a strain of grateful recollection, Mr. Verplank has noticed the early settlers of the

British provinces, and the many singular but meritorious men, who at different epochs rendered themselves conspicuous in their history. He also records some of the European names, who aided his countrymen in throwing off the control of the British Sovereign, and confers a glowing eulogium upon Louis XVI. Before concluding, he adverts to the characteristic variety and poetic character of European history, and thus contrasts with it the simplicity of that of America:—

"Our own history, on the contrary, like that poetical temple of Fame, which was first reared by the imagination of Chaucer, and decorated by the taste of Pope, is almost exclusively dedicated to the memory of the truly great. Or, rather, like the Pantheon of Rome, it stands in calm and severe beauty amid the ruins of ancient magnificence, and 'the toys of modern state.' Within no idle ornament encumbers its bold simplicity. The pure light of heaven enters from above, and sheds an equal and serene radiance around. As the eye wanders about its extent, it beholds the unadorned monuments of brave and good men, who have greatly bled or toiled for their country, or it rests on votive tablets inscribed with the names of the best benefactors of mankind."[4]

[4] Mr. Verplank characterizes Mr. Washington Irving as one of the chief of living American writers; and remarks, as if anticipating the fame which he has subsequently acquired,—"This writer has not yet fulfilled all the promise he has given to his country. It is his duty,

Mr. Verplank's discourse certainly does honour to himself, and to the literature of his country. It exhibits a great extent of reading, combined with an independence of mind, which leads him fearlessly to controvert opinions sanctioned by the authority of great names; and to estimate the value of historical statements, by their intrinsic worth, rather than by the character of their authors. His style, if somewhat ornate and oratorical, is yet well balanced and harmonious; and is throughout perfectly free from those indigenous expressions which so frequently provincialize American compositions. The spirit that pervades the essay is that of an enthusiastic love of country; and if it may be said, here and there, rather to blind him to its faults, this is a feeling so excusable in itself, perhaps one to which we are ourselves so liable, that we cannot allow it to lessen the pleasure which is afforded by a perusal.

Much has been written on the subject of American literature, and various theories have been pro-

because it is in his power, to brush away the pretenders who may at any time infest her society, her science, or her politics; or if he aspires, as I trust he does, to strains of a higher mood, the deeds of his countrymen, and the undescribed beauties of his native land, afford him many a rich subject, and he may deck the altar of his country's glory with the garlands of his taste and fancy." Mr. Verplank, however, who is of Dutch descent, and jealous for the honour of his parent country, feels a little sore at Deidrich Knickerbocker's wit, and makes some remarks on it, to which Mr. Irving pleasantly alludes in the introduction to Rip Van Winkle. See the Sketch Book.

posed to account for the comparative scantiness of original compositions, and the frequent inferiority of much that has been written. I have no new hypothesis to propose upon the subject. The fact is sufficiently accounted for by the state of the country, as a young and a rising one; offering more encouragement to commercial and agricultural adventure, than to literary and philosophical pursuits; and probably this kind of mental tutelage has existed longer than its natural time, from the influence of a hereditary disposition in the natives to look elsewhere for their literature. Those who were disposed to write, felt a misgiving in their hearts as to their own strength, and allowed their powers to be deadened by a chilling awe of foreign criticism. Those again who were to purchase their writings, felt no confidence in literary productions of domestic origin; they did not expect much, and they were slow to admit the existence of even moderate excellence. Every vessel from Liverpool brings an importation of new authors, which the accommodating booksellers immediately transmute from a costly into a cheap form, and a torrent of British authors, of legally accredited talent, deluges the land, and carries with it the minds and the partialities of the multitude. Our Reviews have contributed to increase and perpetuate this feeling of intellectual subordination. They have almost always[5] in criti-

[5] This had reference to the state of matters before the appearance of Mr. Irving's recent publications.

cising American authors doled out their praise in very niggardly portions, and frequently accompanied the little which they gave, with a tone of affected condescension more disheartening than censure; patting, as it were, the author like the schoolboy on the head, and comforting him with—"Very well *for an American*,—very well indeed!"

Indications, I think, are very plainly discernible of a change in this respect. Not many large or aspiring works indeed have yet been published, of a very superior kind, but here and there a fugitive essay has made its appearance, or discourse, or memoir, like those to which I have alluded; not unfrequently without the author's name, who seems to shrink from the wrath of the literary inquisitors; many of these exhibit a purity and nervousness of style, with an independence of mind which may probably stimulate their authors to try their strength in more sustained efforts. The public voice too has begun to cry shame, at the sceptical disbelief which has so long prevailed, of the possibility of American literary talent; and when some master spirit has fairly vindicated his own inherent strength, and set the bold example of revolt from European domination, he will doubtless find a band of brothers, ready to rise with enthusiasm and determination to aid him in the conflict; and a second revolution, yet more honourable than the first, will sooner or later be the consequence. Men have no conception of what they are able to achieve, till they fairly

task their energies in the trial. There is abundance of talent in the country, conversational, oratorical, and professional; there is widely diffused a great amount of general information, and its inseparable attendant, a desire to acquire more; there is much purity of moral sentiment, and much sterling religious principle; there is a fair proportion of classical learning, and a still larger share of scientific knowledge;—these are the very elements of literature, even of the highest order, and although they may slumber unseen and unheard of for a time, the connexion of cause and effect must cease, if they do not ultimately blaze forth in enduring brillancy.[6]

[6] I cannot help quoting here a rather singular passage from the North American Review. The writer's remarks are suggested by Garat's Memoirs of M. Suard, &c. a French work, which commemorates a learned, wealthy, and very liberal Dutch bookseller named Pankouke, who lived in Paris, and who had been known, "after concluding a treaty for a work, to advance a hundred thousand francs beyond the bargain." "What bookseller," exclaims the Reviewer, "in the United States, would advance twenty thousand dollars beyond his bargain? He that should do it would be laughed at for his simplicity, rather than extolled as a Mæcænas. We go farther, and ask what bookseller in the United States would offer twenty thousand dollars for any book that could be written? In other countries, when a gentleman has been at the trouble of writing a book, there is a competition among the booksellers to know who shall have the honour of printing it, and the author puts what price he pleases upon his manuscript. Here, on the contrary, it is not always that he can persuade the bookseller to print.—As to the idea of receiving any money for the copyright, it would be thought the height of presumption in a writer to expect it. It is

The powerful aid of periodical criticism will not be wanting; and who can calculate what that mighty engine has wrought in Britain? It has drawn forth latent talent, it has encouraged and rewarded timid worth, it has spread a taste for reading and a taste for philosophizing, and it has infused a literary spirit into thousands who knew not its inspiration; it has at the same time checked presumption, exposed ignorance, and punished

quite enough if the bookseller will do him the favour of printing his work, and will take the trouble of sending it about to his correspondents, with a proviso that he shall take the profits to himself, if there be any, and leave the author the chance of a loss. It is compensation enough for the latter to see his name in the title page. We hear much of the paucity of good books published in this country, but we cannot help thinking that much of the blame of it is to be attributed to the booksellers. If these gentlemen, instead of investing their capital in the republication of foreign works, from which they derive no honour and little profit, the sale being in general barely enough to cover the expense,—if, we say, instead of this, they would hold out a generous encouragement for the production of original compositions,—if they would offer twenty thousand dollars for a history,—ten thousand for a poem or a novel, and so in proportion; and would then, like the illustrious Pankouke, throw in a few thousand dollars above the bargain, to put the author in good spirits,—we should find the reproach of our literary poverty disappearing very fast. We should soon have a class of standard national works, that, after making the fortune of their writers, would become a lasting and valuable property to the booksellers that bought the copies; while the foreign books which they now reprint, are all ephemeral, and, like fancy goods, are not worth a dollar to them after the first momentary demand is over. *North American Review, No. XXXI. pp.* 261—2.

With all due deference to this learned Reviewer, I cannot help

folly; and although these beneficial effects have not been produced without a good deal of concomitant mischief, and sometimes cases of cruel individual injustice, yet no one can dispassionately estimate the relative amounts, without at once confessing that the good has far outweighed the evil.

The North American Review is slowly but gradually working its way into the favour of the reading public; and beyond a doubt it will do much

thinking that he is rather too hard upon the American bibliopolists; and that he is in fact reversing the natural order of events. Whatever may have been the case with Mr. Pankouke, I suspect that booksellers are very seldom actuated by any abstract love of letters, in purchasing literary productions. Copyrights are like calicoes, a mere mercantile commodity, which nobody buys but in the expectation of turning the purchase to account. Till the American public patronize native productions, it is in vain to expect that booksellers will, and unreasonable to quarrel with them because they do not. Very large sums are now paid in Britain for copyrights, but solely because very large sums are made by the purchase; and although some booksellers have the reputation of being more liberal to their authors than others, it is solely because they are able in various ways to make even this liberality productive. The times are wondrously changed as to copyrights since the days of Milton, and yet the purchaser of Paradise Lost, was in all probability quite as much disposed to foster literature for its own sake, as most modern publishers either in London or Edinburgh. It is said that when Dr. Buchan published the first edition of his Domestic Physician, he offered the copyright to Mr. Creech for Fifty Pounds, which sum Mr. Creech declined to give; in the course of a week or two, however, he waited on the Doctor, and offered him Five Hundred for it, which he in his turn refused to take:—would the Reviewer attribute this wonderful change in Mr. Creech's mind to a sudden fit of disinterested love of literature?

to change the aspect of literary affairs. I do not indeed go the length of a gentleman of Boston, who in conversing with me on the subject prophesied, that 'in less than two years, at least two thousand copies of it would be sold in Britain;' yet should its present promise not be falsified, this may in all probability one day be the case, for I doubt not that a taste for American books will gradually arise among my countrymen, just as a taste for English books has long existed here.[7]

I have noticed the Scientific Journal which has been lately begun, under the editorial care of Professor Silliman of Yale College; and when we reflect on the immense field which this wonderful country opens up to geological research; and the abundant scope which it affords for the investigation of phenomena in earth and air and sea; when we take into account the progress of medical science in America, and the important discoveries which have been made in the mechanical and useful arts,—we cannot doubt that under such an editor the work must be both a prosperous and an in-

[7] This work needs not now my 'faint praise.' A writer in the Edinburgh Review has asserted, that twenty years ago a critical journal of equal talent was not known in Britain; and the elegant conductor of the New Monthly Magazine has shown the utmost respect to the remarks of its editor (Professor Everett of Harvard University) on one of the essays in his journal. Its literary excellence may therefore be regarded as beyond controversy, and probably the prophecy of the native of Boston is hastening to its accomplishment.

teresting one. It augurs well for it, that though the second Number is but just published the first has already gone out of print.[7]

The state of the English language in America has been another standing topic of reproach with those who delight to run the *Yankees* down. On this subject however the natives of the United States have not been quite so passive; for not content with rebutting attacks they have become assailants in their turn, and many have even asserted, that the English language is spoken with greater purity in America than in Britain. I cannot agree with the latter, and I am very far from taking part with the former;—truth lies between.

Much unfairness has been practised by travellers with regard to the language of Americans; and most of the conversations with which they have so liberally garnished their volumes, bear the brand of forgery upon their foreheads. I feel myself standing on sure ground when I say, of the greater number of these dialogues, that such conversations never took place. Some odd sounding words are no

[7] Professor Silliman's Journal has now completed the fifth volume and may be considered as permanently established; the scientific skill of the editor and his associates has called forth the warm commendations of British philosophers, and the pages of his miscellany abound with much that is interesting and attractive to readers of less exalted acquirements. It may be proper perhaps to notice that both this work and the North American Review are supplied in London by Mr. John Miller, 69, Fleet Street.

doubt in use among country farmers, stage drivers, and those who ply as porters about the wharfs and steam boats, and even in better society a few phrases are current which are unknown at home; but to collect all these into one conglomerated mass, with many which I never once heard in my progress through the country, and, by interspersing a few words of intelligible English, to weave the anomalous materials into something like a conversation, is to say the least of it a most uncandid way of exhibiting a specimen of the language of the country.

The peculiarities in American conversation consist partly in an uncanonical use of good English words, partly in illipses to which we are not accustomed, partly in an occasional word surviving from the language of the first settlers, and partly in a few which appear to be of republican coinage. The intermixture however of these peculiarities is by no means so great or so offensive as is generally reported, and the evil of their introduction, it must be allowed, is in some measure alleviated, if not compensated, by the total absence of provincial accent, and of some other inaccuracies which are occasionally heard at home.

The hypothesis that the English language is spoken with greater purity here than at home, has been supported by men whose talents and whose candour alike entitle their opinion to respect; and in a qualified sense probably we must allow that it

is well founded. The inferior orders of society in America certainly speak more accurately than the inferior orders in Britain, and those local peculiarities of accent which abound so amazingly in our native country, and which a foreigner travelling among us must detect much more readily than a native, are totally unknown here. There is a great degree of uniformity in the style of conversation, throughout that portion of the country which I have visited; and a very considerable degree of what is called in Scotland the English pronunciation. Here however my concessions stop. The educated classes of society, do not speak by any means so accurately in America as in Britain; there are more deficiencies in grammar, in accent, in pronunciation; there is a mixture of unaûthorized phrases of which we know nothing; and were a casual conversation between a well educated native of America, and a well educated native of Britain, faithfully committed to writing, that of the American, would I think in a large majority of cases be found deficient.

Some ultra-independent republicans have avowed their impatience of the assumed right, on the part of English critics, to sit in judgment upon American language and composition; and have asserted their right to free themselves from the shackles of English control, in matters literary, as well as political. These theorists however have not met with any support from the more enlightened and

unprejudiced of their countrymen; on the contrary vigorous efforts have been made to counteract the rage for literary innovation, and 'set a discountenancing mark,' as Franklin called it, upon unclassical expressions. Among others Mr. Pickering has distinguished himself in this commendable cause, by the publication of a copious vocabulary of the words and phrases which are peculiar to his native country,[9] or which are used in a peculiar acceptation. He has prefixed to this vocabulary a very candid essay, on the present state of the English language in the United States, in which he strongly urges on his countrymen the necessity of forming their style upon that of the standard British authors, and of rejecting every expression for which they cannot produce unquestionable authority. He has inscribed upon his work the very appropriate motto, from Cicero, 'Atque ut Latine loquamur, videndum est, ut verba efferamus ea quæ nemo jure reprehendat.' With such a beacon to warn them, and with such writers as Mr. Irving, Mr. Verplank, and the editor of the North American Review,[10] recognizing the standards of correct

[9] In one volume Octavo, Boston 1816.

[10] This journal shows a commendable zeal in repressing inroads on the purity of our common language. The following extract may be considered as their Literary Creed, and ultra-toryism itself must be satisfied with the orthodox spirit of legitimacy which breathes through it. Criticising a recent American traveller the reviewer says:—"As to language, his work is highly defective, and every page he writes, is marked by a sin against the King's English.—We are indepen-

composition, I think it probable that American authors are more likely than otherwise to improve in their style; and that in the course of a few years, no one, who pretends to accuracy of composition, will allow himself the use of phrases which are now to a considerable extent common.

11*th*. A school for the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb was begun here in May last year, by a person who had been employed for some time at an older institution of the same kind in Hartford, Connecticut. The conductor of the Hartford academy, Mr. Gallaudet, acquired his knowledge of the art at Paris; since his return to his native country, he has exerted himself with much success in behalf of that unfortunate and interesting class of our fellow creatures.

When I visited the New York school in the month of July, it contained nineteen pupils, five of whom were grown up. They seemed to have made considerable progress in acquiring ideas, and in the art of communicating them. Some of

dent Americans it is true, and have a right if we choose to vote out the English Language altogether, but we have no right to corrupt it. We trust moreover that it is still the boast of every man of English descent throughout the land, that the language of Shakespeare and of Milton is his mother tongue. Subjection to it is not among the grievances complained of in the bill of rights, nor is freedom from its laws any where to be found in the declaration of independence, and while this Magna Charta does not forbid allegiance to it, we hope no scholar can be found who will not keep 'his loyalty, his zeal, his love.'" *North American Review, No. XXXVI. p.* 248.

them articulated with tolerable distinctness. At the Hartford academy I am informed that they do not attempt articulation. The manual alphabet which is used is that of the French schools, and requires the use of only one hand. This strikes me as an improvement, for should an individual be disabled in either arm he would necessarily be prevented from the use of the alphabet which is used in our seminaries.

15th. The number of banking companies in America surprises a stranger. In the city of New York there are ten or a dozen, all issuing their own notes; besides a multitude of others in the immediate neighbourhood. A list of the banks in the United States has been recently published, containing between three and four hundred; although there is every reason to believe that it is not complete. Some of the memoranda in this catalogue are not a little inexplicable to a stranger. Under the name of one of the banks you will find, "The notes of this bank signed with red ink, at a discount of 25 per cent, those signed with black 5 per cent discount;" after the name of another, "Not in good credit." The paper of one town is not received by the banks of another, unless when specially payable there; and the consequence is that it requires not a little circumspection, in a stranger who is travelling about, to avoid losing by the discount upon notes, which increases regularly as he recedes from the place where they

are issued. This in the paper of private companies is less remarkable, but the United States' Bank, which has eight or ten branches scattered over the country, issues notes dated at each of these places, none of which will be received by any of the other branches, except for government duties and taxes; so that a merchant with his pocket full of the notes of the United States' Bank at Philadelphia, cannot pay his bill in the office of the same bank at New York, till he has gone to a broker and paid him a premium for exchanging them. This discount upon bank notes has given rise to a regular trade of buying and selling them, and with a little foresight and arrangement, if you are travelling to any considerable distance, you may save a few dollars in your expenses by previously buying the notes of that part of the country to which you are going. The brokers, or *shavers* as they are familiarly designated, are numerous in all the towns.

The legal rate of interest in the State of New York is seven per cent., but bills at 60 days are discounted by the banks at six. The banks make a dividend on their stock once in six months, which at present varies in amount from eight to twelve per cent., per annum. Each company must be incorporated by an act of the State legislature, and it is illegal to commence banking without such an act. This is an unwise provision. Were the business left open, as in Scotland, to individual en-

terprise and competition, the public would have security for their property, to the full extent of the private fortune of all the partners in the company; and the number of companies would be regulated by the natural operation of supply and demand; but when a company is bolstered up by a State enactment, and the capital stock declared to be alone liable for its engagements, the public have no definite and tangible security for their property; a facility is afforded for the most unlimited speculation; and sometimes the bank becomes a complete system of fraud and robbery. The number also is increased beyond all bounds; part of them become bankrupt, and those which are solvent provide work and profit for the brokers.

There are twelve or fifteen fire insurance companies in New York; as well as others for sea insurance. The system of individual underwriting is very little, if at all, practised here. A merchant who is extensively engaged in the foreign trade informs me, that the premiums for sea insurance are not so high in New York as in Britain, and that the companies in general settle for losses with more promptitude and liberality than our underwriters.

23*d*. Attended to-day the funeral of a young countryman, who died very suddenly yesterday morning. Invitations to funerals are here given only through the newspapers, and generally in the following form:—"Died here last evening, A. B.

His friends and acquaintances, with those of his son C. D., and his son-in-law E. F., are requested to attend his funeral this afternoon at five o'clock, from his late residence No. 1, G. street, without farther invitation." At the hour appointed, all who were acquainted with the family, or who may feel an inclination to testify their regard, assemble in their usual apparel, without regard to its colour, and follow the body to the burying ground in a column, two and two. There can be no doubt that as much sincere sympathy may be thus expressed, as by those who attend at our funerals, in crape and weepers—

"To feel or feign decorous woe;"

Yet the dark uniformity of the dress gives to the assembly an apparent unity of purpose and feeling, which can never be attained in a motley assemblage in differently coloured coats; and cannot be without a certain degree of corresponding impression, upon many of those who witness it. Here none but a few of the nearest relations wear black. The clergyman, the physician, and a few more of the more intimate friends receive each a large linen scarf, which is worn like a military belt, sloping across the body, and those who are thus marked out officiate as pall-bearers. These scarfs are in all cases presents to those who wear them; they contain in general as much linen as will make a shirt. This is the most exceptionable character-

istic in New York funerals; for the number of scarfs which are presented, is thought to mark in some measure the respectability of the family, and a misplaced desire of parade often leads into considerable expense those who are ill able to afford it.

In the instance to which I have alluded, a mahogany coffin containing the body of the young man was placed near the door, and the lid, which was hinged near the top, was folded down so as to expose the face of the corpse. What the origin or use of such a practice is I know not, but I have observed that the body is frequently placed in the hall, or an open bed-room, to give the company an opportunity of seeing it, of which many who attend avail themselves. When a considerable number had assembled a glass of wine was offered, which was in general declined, and the procession moved off without any previous religious service. Before interment, however, the coffin was conveyed into the church, and placed upon a platform immediately before the pulpit; the company attending the funeral seated themselves in the pews, and Dr. ——, standing behind the body, addressed them extemporaneously in a very solemn and impressive manner. The coffin was then carried out and consigned to one of the subterraneous brick vaults, which are common in the New York burying grounds. At another funeral which I attended here, the clergyman prayed and addressed the company, before

leaving the house, but the snow was then lying pretty deep on the ground, and this I understood to be the reason why the address was not delivered at the grave. The noxious system of tolling bells at funerals is most properly prohibited; as it ought to be every where.

While at Baltimore I saw the funeral of an infant which was attended solely by females, with the exception of the father of the child. All but the father and mother were dressed in white, with light coloured shawls and ribands, and the coffin which was of mahogany was carried by white ribands by four of the females. I did not follow it to the burying ground, but was informed that the parties were Methodists, and that it was peculiar to them to bury in that way.

Feb. 5th. I have just returned from New Haven, where I have spent eight days most agreeably.

Travelling in America is, so far as I can learn, much improved within these few years. In my letter from Buffalo you received a pretty minute account of the discomforts which I then experienced, but except on that occasion I have met with little that deserves the name. It may in general be said with regard to American travelling, that whenever you can avail yourself of a steam boat, you get along with much comfort and expedition; but that whenever you are obliged to have recourse to stages, you will find them in most respects several degrees inferior to those at home.

The steam boats are in general large vessels and swift sailers; and the sleeping births are always comfortable and in excellent order. The table is well provided, and the food in general quite as well cooked as in the inns. In most of them the table ware is of India china; and a new one in which I sailed on the Chesapeake, was furnished with dinner and tea services which had been manufactured at Canton expressly for herself, and enamelled with her picture and name. In the steam boats on the St. Lawrence, there is generally a more elegant dinner served up; the table of the Car of Commerce presented every delicacy of the season, and there was always a dessert of pastry, jellies, and ices, succeeded by dried fruit. You were however somewhat tempted to drink wine after dinner, which is never done in the American boats. Smoking segars is common every where; a light is always placed upon deck for this purpose, but in the American boats the decks are painted and kept remarkably clean, and there is a peremptory prohibition against spitting on them.

The fares of some of the boats I have already specified. The passage on lake Champlain was the dearest; 9 dollars, 40s. 6d. sterling, for 115 miles, including two meals. From New Haven to New York, 80 miles, the fare is 5 dollars, 22s. 6d. sterling, without any food. Between New York and Philadelphia, 90 miles, where the journey is performed part of the way in steam boats, and part in

stages, the fare varied from 5 to 9 dollars. From Philadelphia to Baltimore, 104 miles, performed in a similar way, the charge is 6 dollars.[11]

The American stages are of three kinds. The old-fashioned stage-waggons, which have been described in the letter from Buffalo; an improved construction of these, with doors, and three seats instead of four, which are chiefly found in Massachusetts; and post coaches, as they are called, which have been recently introduced on the roads between New York and Baltimore, and are beginning to make their appearance in some other places. The post coaches are something like one of our six seated stages, but with an additional seat in the centre, which enables them with close packing to contain nine inside; the roof in place of being flat is quite round, of course nothing can rest upon it; the luggage is contained in a kind of bag behind, and the driver sits on a low seat in front; one passenger may sit beside him but there are no other *outsides*. Between New York and Philadelphia these coaches run across the State of New Jersey, conveying the passengers from the steam boats on the one side to those on the other. Others run across the land between the Delaware and the Chesapeake.

[11] I observe by the New York papers that a very considerable reduction has taken place in some of these fares. A person may now travel from New York to Philadelphia for 2½ dollars, eleven shillings and three pence sterling, which is at the rate of three-halfpence sterling a mile.

The fares by the stages must by law not exceed seven cents a mile, about fourpence sterling. This is rather above the average price of inside seats in the stages at home; but where there is competition, as between New York and Philadelphia, the cost is often considerably less; there are no fees to drivers, and guards are unknown. One great inconvenience connected with stage travelling here, is the frequency with which you are obliged to shift from one carriage to another. Travelling by land between New Haven and New York we were in no less than five different carriages, and obliged to keep a sharp look-out at each change that our luggage did not go astray; this in bad weather is excessively annoying. The fare by the road is collected in the same piecemeal way, half a dollar here, three quarters there; each stage proprietor taking payment for his own portion of the road, and turning you out of his vehicle as soon as he has got you to the end of it. In the nine-seated post coaches the packing is almost intolerable; especially in hot weather. I have been in one coach which carried no more than six, but hitherto this is very uncommon.

The mail of the United States is carried both by steam boats and by stages. They have not attained to the regularity in the post office department which prevails at home, but they have made a nearer approach to it than could reasonably have been expected. Postages are lower than with us; on short

distances about one-fourth, on more considerable ones a third, and beyond 400 miles there is scarcely any relative proportion; a single letter carried from one extremity of the Union to the other, a distance of nearly four thousand miles, costs no more than a quarter of a dollar, thirteen pence half-penny sterling. Newspapers are not franked, but pay one cent each under 100 miles, and one cent and a half beyond that distance. The convenient system of sending parcels by coach which is carried to such perfection in Britain, is unknown here, and the consequence is that it is far more easy to send a small package from America to Britain, than to send it fifty miles back into the country. Pamphlets indeed may be sent by mail, at about the same rate *per sheet* as is charged for newspapers, but this regulation applies to no other article, and is a serious tax upon periodical literature.

The inns are the least comfortable part of road accommodation; and it is almost impossible for a stranger to enjoy in them that quietness, retirement, and sedulous attention to his comfort and convenience, which in general are so easily attainable at home. On arriving, the traveller and his luggage are ushered into the bar-room, as it is called, opening in general immediately from the street; behind a railing at one corner stands a man making punch at almost all hours, and a number of idlers hang about smoking segars and reading newspapers. In this room or in your bed-room you must spend

your leisure time, as you best can; every door open and every person at liberty to scrutinize your motions, and you his. I have been told that a private parlour may sometimes be obtained, but I never saw one, nor ever heard it asked for. Three times a-day a large bell rings, and in an adjoining hall with a sanded floor, breakfast, dinner, and tea, are served up, and permanent boarders and travellers sit down promiscuously; in country towns the host and hostess in general preside. There is always a profusion of food upon the table, and at breakfast and tea, beef steaks, sausages, fowls, fish, potatoes and pickles, are introduced in addition to what we usually expect. The breakfast hour is seven o'clock in summer and eight in winter, dinner at two or three, and tea, which passes also for supper, at seven.

I had been some time in America before I was able to keep up to my neighbours in their rapidity of despatching their meals. Breakfast rarely exceeds five minutes; they empty two half boiled eggs into a wine glass, and drink rather than eat them, swallow two cups of coffee, with a piece of toast and a sausage, and are off from table before you feel yourself comfortably seated in the chair. At dinner there is scarcely such a thing as one carving for another; every one for himself is the ordinary system. The bed-room is in general very small, and in most of the country towns has neither carpet nor curtains, and sometimes not even a wash-hand-basin, for which you must repair to the bar-room.

Occasionally you must put up with a double or even quadruple bedded room; the latter however is very rare, and even the former not frequent. You can scarcely ever escape without paying for boarding, which is generally a dollar and a half a-day, and in the principal towns two dollars; although you should dine out the whole week no abatement is made. When you stop only for part of a day the charge is half a dollar for breakfast or tea, half a dollar to a dollar for dinner, and a quarter for lodging. Boots, although he has not that name here, expects in the large towns, and in them only, a small gratuity when you go away, none of the other servants have any thing.

Much that has been written on the incivilities to which a stranger is exposed here, is destitute of truth. Generally speaking a traveller will meet with respectful treatment, if his own manners are not rude. The imperative tone which empty-pated coxcombs are prone to assume at home, would be resented here most indignantly, but if you *request* instead of *ordering*, you will rarely receive an uncivil reply. The country innkeeper is not unfrequently a man of some consequence in the neighbourhood, either from his property or from holding some official situation, and if you enter into conversation with him, you will often discover that under a plain exterior is concealed a great deal of shrewdness and information. Sometimes the landlord's daughter pours out tea or coffee at a side table, but

she always maintains a dignified deportment, and is respectfully treated by her guests. The females of every class whom I have seen employed in American inns, have been in all cases perfectly correct in their manners, nor did I ever see any rudeness offered to them. In waiters, stage drivers, and the other retainers of the road, you will find little of the obsequiousness which is common at home; they generally indeed speak to you more on the footing of equality than inferiority; I have once or twice had uncivil answers, but not more frequently I think than at home.

7th. I have as yet said little of the police of New York, or the state of morals.

The police is not obtrusive, and neither their patroles nor officers are discoverable by any particular uniform. I have however seen no great need of them; I do not recollect to have witnessed a squabble or riot of any kind during all the time which I have, first and last, spent here. If they would only banish the hogs and clean the pavements, I should think that one great object of a police is effectually attained. Of late, however, a good many petty depredations have been committed, without the detection of the agents, such as the carrying off of great coats, hats, and tartan plaids,[12] from the halls

[12] I was quite annoyed at the corruption of sense and grammar which prevails, both in writing and conversation, in reference to the Highland costume. The noun *plaid* denoting the garment, they have changed into an adjective signifying the stuff, and murdering the

of the houses; indeed as all the doors open from without, there is no great difficulty in the exploit. An inmate of our boarding-house has lately lost in this way a smart London box coat, which had cost him a pretty large sum.

The watchmen at night carry no lantern; they are to be seen occasionally lurking under the shadow of a projecting corner, with a short batoon tucked under their arm, and a leathern cap, similar to that worn by the firemen. I can hardly tell you whether they cry the hour during the night or not; I do not recollect to have ever heard them. By an early hour in the morning, however, we have abundance of discordant noises in the streets. Men squalling *milk*, and negro boys shrieking *sweep*, as if there were no such thing as harmony in sounds. Barn-yard fowls cackle in orthodox octaves, but here you are assailed every morning with as choice an assortment of discords, as ever tortured the sensitive ear of an Italian composer.

The state of morals among the lower classes in New York is no better than is usually found in large cities. Perhaps, from the perpetual flow of strangers of every class through it, rather worse. Intemperance is every where a prevailing vice

pronunciation, that they might be in all things consistent, they talk of a *pladd* bonnet, *pladd* cloak, *pladd* stockings, &c. I wish we could convince them that this is quite unworthy of the readers of the Waverley novels, and that they might as well talk of a *nightcap shirt*, or a *neckcloth pair of small-clothes*:—moreover that *plaid* rhymes to *maid*.

among the inferior ranks of society in America; nor is it surprising that it should be so. The excessive heat of the climate in the summer months produces violent thirst; to drink cold water is then very unsafe, and the use of spirits, even from prudential motives, is exceedingly apt to produce a fondness for stimulants which may lead to consequences of the worst kind. The very low price of spirits makes the means of intoxication easy, even to the poorest, and the number of houses licensed to retail ardent spirits in the city is said to amount to about 1500; there is reason to suspect, however, that there are others engaged in the trade in a less legal way. A pamphlet was published in 1817, by a person who was employed under the auspices of a Missionary Society to survey the streets and lanes, where the dregs of the population reside, to ascertain their condition as to the means of moral and religious instruction. The depravity and wretchedness[13] which this report lays open to us, might stagger the belief of those who have not had occasion to know, from personal observation, something of the

[13] An instance of distress at once revolting and ludicrous, was mentioned to me by a lady. The sick family of a poor Irish emigrant, occupying part of a miserable apartment which sheltered other three families, one in each corner, was visited by some benevolent females who supplied them with food and clothing. After a few days the ladies repeated their call, and in reply to their enquiries, "Oh we should be *very* comfortable," said the mother, "were it not that the people in that corner persist in taking boarders, some of whom are not very agreeable!"

abominable wickedness of large cities. I think it unnecessary to transcribe any of its statements; they would afford you no pleasure, and if we have not equally revolting pictures of society to contemplate among ourselves, I suspect it is only because no one has entered upon the investigation with such patient and persevering industry, as the conscientious and zealous individual to whom I have alluded. He busied himself at the same time in distributing the Bible, of which he gave away between 600 and 700 copies.

As one of the various institutions which have been formed for alleviating the sufferings of the more neglected of our species, the Orphan Asylum deserves commemoration. This house for helpless infancy is one of the many results of female benevolence. I visited it on a fine afternoon in the month of October, and saw the chubby-faced inmates running about in great glee and comfort. It contained at that time about 130 boys and girls; who are carefully educated and instructed, and at proper ages taught various useful arts, by which they are enabled to provide honestly and honourably for their own support. The domestic economy was under the management of a Scotsman and his wife, who had once belonged to our native city; the husband recognised me as soon as he heard my name, as the grandson of one whom he had in former days known.

10*th*. Before quitting this land of freedom, as I

hope soon to do, it is fitting perhaps that I should say something as to the kind of liberty which it enjoys. Much however does not remain to be said on this subject. We are all aware that for white men it is the freest country upon the face of the earth, both in a civil and a religious point of view. The people are here beyond all question more distinctly recognised as the source of power, than even in our own highly favoured land. I doubt however, very much, whether this is not carried to an extreme which is likely to be one day inconsistent with the real dignity and prosperity of the country. A democracy develops more fully than any other form of government the energies of the nation, but it greatly increases the risk of these energies being misdirected. When numbers, rather than property and intelligence, are the preponderating principle in the system, the chance is that the system will go wrong. The *many* are not yet sufficiently enlightened, rightly to judge on a large proportion of legislative questions; nor if they could, are they yet sufficiently under the influence of the precept 'whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them,' to act conscientiously in matters where self-interest, real or imaginary, comes into view. Already popular clamour has in more than one instance compelled the abandonment of salutary measures, because the many-headed sovereign could not appreciate their importance, or could not be reconciled to their temporary inconvenience.

When the population becomes more dense, the means of support more precarious, and the consciousness of political power more universal, what is to be the safeguard of the country against a general partition of property, or some other measure equally destructive?

I do not in these remarks institute any comparison, between Americans and natives of other countries. I feel persuaded that a pure democracy is not fitted for fallen creatures, and was never intended for them. *Vox Populi*, so far from being at all times *Vox Dei*, is not unfrequently the very reverse. The natural aristocracy of intellect, and still more perhaps the artificial aristocracy of property, must have a preponderating influence in the scale; or the bond of cohesion is broken, and the principle of order overthrown. The happy medium, is, where the equilibrium between property and numbers is most steadily preserved; where security of person and property is enjoyed, and full opportunity afforded for talent and industry to benefit themselves without injuring their neighbours. Whether the supreme magistrate be hereditary or elective, a king or a president, is a matter of comparative indifference; if he is the former, the country is saved from the incessant annoyance and intriguing connected with popular elections, and all the misery resulting from disputed nominations; no doubt the chance is that a smaller average amount of talent will usually be found for the duties of the office, but

where the public mind is well informed and properly directed, this is not generally of great importance. The abstract of perfection in political systems, has certainly not yet been seen in the world; but I cannot help thinking that the British is still the nearest to it. I should rejoice to see our great representative body rendered more consistent with its professed constitution, and I feel strongly persuaded that not many years will go round, till the strength of public opinion will compel its improvement; but I would rather that it should remain as it is, than see it assimilated in character and properties to that of the United States. We err on the safer side, and that is a great matter in human institutions. What improvements are yet to be made in the science of government no one can pretend to foretell, but with history and observation to guide us, I cannot but rejoice that my lot has been cast under the limited monarchy of Great Britain, the happy combination of King, Lords, and Commons.

Party spirit here does not seem at present to run very high; at least an election which took place of representatives for Congress, soon after my first arrival in New York, was managed with almost as little stir as takes place in Glasgow at the election of a commissioner of police. The American flag was flying over a house in which a ballot-box was deposited, and the voters entering with their suffrages upon a scrap of paper, dropped them into the box through an opening in the lid, with as little

emotion as you would have in throwing a letter into the post office. I stood in the room for a short time; the voters came very slowly forward, talked of the weather to the returning officers, and went away apparently very careless about the result. A large proportion of those who were entitled to vote did not trouble themselves to do it. It was remarked to me that this was the first occasion, on which any one had ventured in New York to propose himself as a candidate by public advertisement; hitherto it has been customary to be put in nomination through the agency of political friends. The experiment however failed.

In the religious freedom which America enjoys, I see a more unquestioned superiority. In Britain we enjoy toleration, but here they enjoy liberty. If government has a right to grant toleration to any particular set of religious opinions, it has also a right to take it away; and such a right with regard to opinions exclusively religious I would deny in all cases, because totally inconsistent with the nature of religion, in the proper meaning of the word, and equally irreconcileable with civil liberty, rightly so called. God has given to each of us his inspired word, and a rational mind to which that word is addressed. He has also made known to us, that each for himself must answer at his tribunal for his principles and conduct. What man then, or body of men, has a right to tell me, "You do not think aright on religious subjects, but we will tolerate your

error?" The answer is a most obvious one, "Who gave you authority to dictate?—or what exclusive claim have you to infallibility?" If my sentiments do not lead me into conduct inconsistent with the welfare of my fellow-creatures, the question as to their accuracy or fallacy is one between God and my own conscience; and though a fair subject for argument, is none for compulsion.

The Inquisition undertook to regulate astronomical science, and kings and parliaments have with equal propriety presumed to legislate upon questions of theology. The world has outgrown the former, and it will one day be ashamed that it has been so long of outgrowing the latter. The founders of the American republic saw the absurdity of employing the Attorney-General to refute deism and infidelity, or of attempting to influence opinion on abstract subjects, by penal enactment; they saw also the injustice of taxing the whole, to support the religious opinions of the few, and have set an example which older governments will one day or other be compelled to follow.

In America the question is not, What is his creed?—but, What is his conduct? Jews[14] have all the privileges of christians; episcopalians, presbyterians, and independents meet on common ground. No religious test is required to qualify for public office, except in some cases a mere

[14] While I was in New York the sheriff of the city was a Jew.

verbal assent to the truth of the christian religion; and in every court throughout the country, it is optional whether you give your affirmation or your oath.

It has been often said that the disinclination of the heart to religious truth, renders a state establishment absolutely necessary, for the purpose of christianizing the country. Ireland and America can furnish abundant evidence of the fallacy of such an hypothesis. In the one country we see an ecclesiastical establishment of the most costly description, utterly inoperative in dispelling ignorance or refuting error; in the other no establishment of any kind, and yet religion making daily and hourly progress, promoting enquiry, diffusing knowledge, strengthening the weak and mollifying the hardened. The religious aspect of America is no doubt chequered with gloomy spots, and I believe that in a large portion of the southern States, ignorance and irreligion prevail to a deplorable extent; but even in our own comparatively small portion of the globe's surface, how large a proportion of parishes are to be found, where there is all the apparatus of religion, a steeple, a benefice, and an incumbent, but an utter famine of the bread of life? and in how many more do we find that dissenterism, that is systematic opposition to the established religion, has been the sole means of preserving the knowledge of the truth?

When we dispassionately examine the history

and present condition of the various divisions of the United States, we shall be constrained to admit that religion has made as extensive progress as we could possibly have expected from any establishment; nay that it is probably in as active a state of advancement, in the older sections of the country, as in any part of the world. If any would imagine that an establishment would have improved matters, let him look to Canada; and even setting aside all reference to the French population let him tell us what has been effected, among those of British descent, by a lordly episcopacy, supported by annual stipends from government, and a seventh part of all granted lands. I refer, of course, in these remarks to evangelical religion, properly so called.

As to the probable continuance of the various civil and religious privileges which America enjoys, different opinions prevail. Some fondly anticipate, that every succeeding year will see this vast republic making rapid advances in internal strength and external influence;—that art and science are to germinate under the Hesperian sky as they have never yet done, and shoot up into a luxuriance of growth for which there was not even space in the more ancient hemisphere. Others there are, who, with the same kindly feelings to the soil, and the same ardent attachment to republican principles, do notwithstanding feel occasionally some misgivings of mind as to the probable

endurance of the federal compact; and even anticipate that at no very distant period, the western States will sever themselves from the alliance of those that border upon the Atlantic, and that two mighty kingdoms, or perhaps empires, will be raised upon the ruins of the commonwealth.

Nothing has more baffled the sagacity of men than speculations on the future destinies of nations, and on no subject merely sublunary, have the most plausible theories and prognostications been so thoroughly set at nought. The vicissitudes of the last twenty years have proved, that nothing merely political can be safely said to be either impossible or improbable. Mind has burst the shackles by which it was so long held in thraldom, and commenced a career of triumph over ignorance and error, to which there seem to be no assignable limits. No where is this change more active than in the United States, and difficulties which now alarm those who wish well to the nation's union and prosperity, may gradually lessen and disappear as future eras develop themselves.

The two most formidable evils with which America has to contend, are negro slavery and universal suffrage.

Till slavery is got rid of, its demoralizing influence will be every day extending itself; nor is it easy to see how the slave-holding States can possibly expect, long to escape the horrors of a

negro insurrection. The black population, it is well ascertained, is increasing in a quicker ratio than the white; and in some of the States the latter are actually beginning to outnumber the former; the history of St. Domingo should not be forgotten by the free citizens.

Liberal opinions can never exist, much less flourish, in the breast of slave-holders. They may be violent republicans to those who aspire to a superiority over them, but they will ever be relentless tyrants to every one who in any way falls under their power. They may themselves throw off the yoke of a master, but the result will be improved to confirm to themselves more absolute sway. They may esteem liberty sweet, but they will also think it far too sweet to be tasted by those who are below them. A British Duke has much more in him of true republican principle, than an American planter. The nobleman knows experimentally that his station in society is altogether conventional; and that with all his ribands and his stars, the lowest of his footmen cannot be detained one hour in his service beyond what he himself agrees to, nor subjected to a single indignity but at the peril of him who offers it. Cart whips and branding irons form no part of the machinery by which his household is swayed.

Slave-holders, in short, can never in their general character be otherwise than detrimental to the true dignity and prosperity of any country. They

cannot appreciate the value of equal laws, and therefore cannot be supposed capable of either making or administering them. The miserable creatures whom they hold in control, in place of strengthening the body politic, increase its weakness and its danger, in geometrical proportion to their increase in numbers. They operate also as an immense mound erected to oppose the progress of knowledge and religion. "I could wish," said a Virginian to me, "that we were rid of our slaves; but while they are slaves, our own safety requires that they should be kept in ignorance." The position is false, as the fruits of the labours of missionaries in the West Indies have proved; but supposing it to be true, how horrible is the idea! It is impossible that a nation can ever attain to true greatness, where such a sentiment is to any considerable extent prevalent; accidental circumstances may elevate it to a temporary degree of influence in the political world, but there is a rottenness at the heart which will sooner or later be its ruin.

But even were slavery abolished to-morrow, throughout the whole of the country, the effects of it would not disappear for generations to come. It has already produced a feeling towards the blacks which is of too inveterate a kind to be easily or speedily removed. They would still be regarded as a degraded race, and still excluded from a reciprocation of those kind offices which

form the cement of society. It must be an appalling thing, that between a body of men so numerous as they are, and the rest of the community, there should be no connecting tie of reciprocal goodwill, no probable means of thorough amalgamation.

The other great obstacle to the prosperity of the American nation, universal suffrage,[15] will not exhibit the full extent of its evil tendency for a long time to come; and it is possible that ere that time some antidote may be discovered, to prevent or alleviate the mischief which we might naturally expect from it. It does however seem ominous of evil, that so little ceremony is at present used with the constitutions of the various States. The people of Connecticut, not contented with having prospered abundantly under their old system, have lately assembled a convention, composed of delegates from all parts of the country, in which the former order of things has been condemned entirely, and a completely new constitution manufactured; which, among other things, provides for the same process being again gone through, as soon as the *profanum vulgus* takes it into its head to desire it.[16] A sorry legacy the British Constitution would

[15] In the greater number of the States, every white person 21 years of age who has paid taxes for one year, is a voter; in others some additional qualifications are required, but they are not such as materially to limit the privilege.

[16] The people of the State of New York have subsequently taken a similar fancy to *clout the cauldron*. (1822.)

be to us, if it were at the mercy of a meeting of delegates, to be summoned whenever a majority of the people take a fancy for a new one; and I am afraid that if the Americans continue to cherish a fondness for such repairs, the highlandman's pistol, with its new stock, lock, and barrel, will bear a close resemblance to what is ultimately produced. This is universal suffrage in its most pestilential character.

The jealousies and conflicting interests of the individual States, have induced a belief with many that the federal union cannot be of very long duration; but it is probable after all, that this is a danger more imaginary than real. The union of the States is one of a very peculiar kind, and not liable to the dangers of an ordinary confederacy among independent communities. Each of them is sovereign within its own territory, in all matters of an internal and domestic kind; but all have surrendered to the direction and control of the general union, their national commerce and foreign relations. The two branches of the national Congress are characterized by the same distinction. In the Senate, each State, however small or however large its territory and population, has two members; while in the House of Representatives there is a member for every thirty thousand free inhabitants, and of course the representation is that of the people, not that of the States.

This separation of internal and external legisla-

tion has both advantages and disadvantages. Local interests and wants are probably more thoroughly known and attended to, than they could be by one general government; but so many separate and independent sources of civil and criminal legislation, facilitate the escape of offenders, and indirectly tend to multiply crime. A person, for instance, who commits murder or robbery on one bank of a river, or one side of a fence, cannot be apprehended or tried for it on the opposite, without a special application from the government of the one State to that of the other; and while this process is going forward, the offender escapes into a third. The consequence is, that the application is very seldom made, and rogues may travel from Maine to Georgia, levying contributions from every State, and making off for the next whenever it becomes unsafe to remain.

The abolition of some of this local legislation and jurisdiction, would undoubtedly be advantageous; but the various sections of the country cling too fondly to their hereditary privileges, to permit the probability of such a result; and the only alternative, that is compatible with the independence and freedom of the country, is to maintain inviolate the federal coalition. Of this there is a general and daily increasing conviction, and when public opinion in a free country is unanimous upon any subject, it is not a trifling matter of casual incon-

venience that will alter or overcome it. War seems to be almost the only instrument by which this could be effected; and probably even war could not do it, unless it were one with Britain. No other power has a navy that could cope with that of the United States, and the geographical position of the country renders it very secure from a land attack. I trust however that Britain and America are now too well acquainted with their mutual interests, to allow the supposition of future hostilities; and therefore that the result of such a contingency, will remain for ever a matter of mere speculation.

On the subject of emigration to America, and the eligibility of the country for a place of residence, much has been already written, by those who have seen more of the interior than I have; yet it is a subject respecting which so much interest has been excited in my native country, that it should not perhaps be passed over in silence. The prudence or imprudence of emigration must of course depend upon individual and contingent circumstances, but a few general principles ought to regulate the decision. A kind of Americo-mania has possessed many of our countrymen; who seemed to think that the land flowed so abundantly with good things, that they needed only to open their mouths and let them have entrance. I need hardly say that this is a gross delusion. Whoever would prosper in America must work for it, and work

hard too; and in many cases struggle with obstacles which are unknown at home.

Some come out with the intention of clearing and cultivating land. To the difficulties with which these have to struggle, I have already alluded. If a man's mind however is made up to penetrate into the back woods, and fell trees, shoot bears and panthers, kill rattlesnakes, eat, sleep, and die, a stranger to almost all the comforts of social life, but content to suffer every privation, if he can reasonably hope that his children or grand-children will be better off—the probability is, if his days are not cut short by the inseparable hardships of such a life, that he will attain the object of his ambition. The land is doubtless productive, and he will find no difficulty in ordinary seasons of raising plentiful crops; he may occasionally be unable, however, to procure a remunerating price for his produce, and many prevented for want of this from paying the purchase money of their lands, have seen them sold by a sheriff's warrant, after years of labour have been expended on them, and the whole proceeds swept off to the United States' treasury. I do not however mean to insinuate, that this is any thing else than an exception to the general rule; and doubtless, in many cases of its occurrence, indolence and dissipation have been as much its causes as unavoidable misfortune.

Others come out with the purpose of settling in the cities, to prosecute their various handicrafts

and trades, by which perhaps they were able to live tolerably well at home, but not to get so speedily rich as they had desired; here they think there will be a wider field, and less competition. Let such think twice before starting. Americans are a shrewd, enterprizing, speculating race, and he would need to have both wit and industry, who enters into rivalry with them. Not many nooks will be found, in any of their considerable towns, where there is not as much competition as at home, in every profitable branch of industry; and if the emigrant has not something better than this *peradventure* to depend upon, the chance is that he will be grievously disappointed.

With some of both classes political discontent is the moving cause. The individual wishes to find himself in a country where he can hold up his head in haughty independence, and say,—"My rank is equal to that of any man around me, and there is not an office in the state to which I am precluded from aspiring." To be sure in America he may say all this, at least his son may,[17] if he is born in the country, but what the better is he?—not a carman in the street but may say the same, and he will find himself as far from the top of the tree as ever. If he has not taxes to pay in one shape, he will find that he will not escape from them in another;[18]

[17] None but a native can be President.

[18] I have already noted the cost of the principal items in housekeeping; the following are the prices which I paid for the clothes

and let him growl as much and as loud as he pleases, he will find his individual influence, in getting the laws amended, to be quite as little in America as in Britain.

In a word, my advice would be; If you are enjoying a moderate degree of prosperity at home, do not think of quitting it. Your success in America is at best problematical; while the difference of customs, manner of living, and climate, is what many will find it very difficult to endure. Of those who emigrate, there are certainly many who prosper, and some who accumulate fortunes; but how many are there at home who are equally successful, who have never stirred from their native city? Hundreds have come to America who bitterly lament their folly; and who have found, to their dear-bought experience, that gold neither paves the streets, nor grows upon the trees.

There cannot be a doubt however that the United States are a rapidly rising nation. There is much in their political and social system that may need improvement; but there is also much in both from which the older Hemisphere might profitably take instruction. They know nothing of the feudal barbarisms, which yet in a thousand ways obstruct the progress of knowledge and improvement even in Britain. There are no close corporations

which I had occasion to purchase. A coat, 36 dollars, £8, 2, sterling; vest, 7 dollars, 31s, 6d; pantaloons, 8 to 10 dollars, 36s. to 45s; hat, 10 dollars, 45s; short boots, 9 dollars, 40s.

to prevent an ingenious man from reaping the reward of his skill, in any branch to which he may direct it. At home, were I to discover an improved way of baking a loaf, or a more expeditious and durable way of constructing a shoe, I could not practise my invention. Both are chartered crafts; in the one of which I should have to purchase my freedom, and in the other I could not purchase it at all. No such exclusive privileges exist here.

Discovery in arts[19] and sciences have already made rapid progress in America, and in all probability will continue to do so. There is an elasticity in the national character, which makes them in some measure discontented with beaten tracks;—all are aiming at something new; and when all are aiming, some must be successful.

[19] The most useful of American inventions is probably the *saw-gin*, by a Mr. Whitney, of Massachusetts, a machine for clearing the fibres of cotton wool from the seeds. It is said that every person employed at this machine, produces as much as a thousand persons picking with the hands. The saw-gin is used in clearing the *green* seed, the most hardy and productive species, but which in consequence of the stronger adherence of the fibre, was for a long period much less cultivated than the *black*. One of the Judges in the State of Georgia, in charging a jury, thus dilates upon its amazing utility. "The whole interior of the southern States was languishing, and its inhabitants emigrating for want of some object to engage their attention, and employ their industry; when the invention of this machine at once opened views to them, which set the whole country in active motion. From childhood to age it has presented us a lucrative employment. Individuals who were depressed in poverty, and sunk in idleness, have suddenly risen to wealth and respectability.

As merchants, none but the British can match them for restless activity and enterprize; and they are happily free from some of the fetters which encumber our motions. There is no East India Company to annoy them with its monopoly; and they are already the favourites in the Chinese market, in spite of the influence of our eastern nabobs. Their merchant ships probably excel those of all nations for elegance of model, and rapidity of sailing, and there is not a free port in the world where their sailors may not be found.

Of their future destiny and influence we can say nothing; but he is not a friend to his species, who does not wish well to the United States. A grand experiment in politics and religion, is there going forward—an experiment which, if successful, will

Our debts have been paid off; our capitals increased; and our lands are trebled in value. We cannot express the weight of obligation, which the country owes to this invention." See an interesting article on Improvements in Machinery in the North American Review, No. XXXV. p. 410. The most elegant of their inventions is undoubtedly that of Mr. Perkins, for multiplying engravings on metal. The happy result of the artist's skill is thus rendered permanent, and the use of the graver, for any but the first plate, completely superseded. (1822.)

Two new inventions, by natives of America, are now announced to us. The one, a method of casting and composing types, by Dr. Church of Boston, and the other a new construction of the steam engine, by the same Mr. Perkins who has been already named. What is said as to the nature of these inventions, so greatly exceeds all previous ideas of possibility, that if they are to any considerable degree successful, we shall scarcely find terms in which to eulogize the merits of their authors. (1823.)

be productive of unestimated happiness to the human race; and whether successful or not, will, we know, be one in that chain of events, which is to issue in diffusing over the whole earth,

> "——— a liberty
> Unsung by poets, and by senators unpraised;
> Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
> Of earth and hell confederate take away!"

LETTER XX.

LETTER XX.

ANECDOTES OF PREACHERS—SERMONS—STATE OF VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SECTS—PRESBYTERIANS—EPISCOPALIANS—METHODISTS—BAPTISTS—MINISTERS' SALARIES—PEW RENTS—MODE OF MAKING COLLECTIONS—OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH—BIBLE SOCIETIES—MISSIONARY SOCIETIES—TRACT SOCIETIES—SUNDAY SCHOOL SOCIETIES—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS—RECIPROCAL REGARD WHICH OUGHT TO EXIST BETWEEN BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

New York, March, 1819.

DURING last month I visited Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, for the second time. I have now the prospect of soon leaving this western continent; and having already extracted from my diary most of the miscellaneous information which was likely to be interesting, it only remains that I should give you some account of the religious characteristics of New York, which shall be interwoven with a little information of a more general kind upon religious subjects.

On the first Sabbath which I passed in this country I was conducted to hear a young presbyterian minister, who had been but a short time before invested with the pastoral charge. The passage to which he directed our attention was, "And thou

shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." Having stated that names in old times were generally descriptive, and that 'Jesus' signified 'Saviour,' he remarked, that that appellation although exclusively His in its highest sense, who 'gave himself a ransom' for his people, was yet not improperly applied, in a subordinate acceptation, to those who had been instrumental in warding off some great danger or evil from their fellow creatures. "There are few nations in the world," said the preacher, "who cannot refer to some splendid name in their history, as that of one who well merits the honourable appellation of *the saviour of his country.* We ourselves, my brethren," he added, kindling into a glow of animation, "young though we be in our political existence,—we can tell of a little band of heroes, who rescued us from the hands of enemies, worse than the Amorite and Hittite!"

It was rather remarkable that so singular a burst of political warmth should meet me on the first Sabbath that I spent in this country; and the more so, that from that day to the present I have not, so far as I recollect, ever heard a single sentence from the pulpit which either directly or indirectly referred to the conduct of my native country towards the United States. Had I sailed for Britain the following day I should of course have supposed it a common practice, but I am now able to say with confidence that it is the very reverse;

this young minister indeed, I am well assured, is rather friendly than otherwise to Britain, and the unwonted burst of patriotic ardour was only to be attributed to warmth of temperament, and his fondness for direct appeals to the feelings and affections of his hearers.

Notwithstanding this singular exordium, he gave us a judicious discourse; accurately composed, and delivered with much animation and effect. I have heard him on only one other occasion, when he selected the passage, "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." This was a less imposing discourse as to composition and delivery; but the passage was well illustrated, and a great many wholesome and important truths plainly stated, and strikingly enforced.

This preacher is regarded by some of his older brethren in the ministry, as being likely to attain to a very distinguished rank among American pulpit orators, when riper years shall have matured his judgment and his taste, and somewhat checked the exuberance of his fancy. I heard him one evening address the members of a missionary society at an anniversary meeting, and it was truly gratifying to listen to the eloquence of his appeals. He progressively rose from the ordinary topics of such addresses, to a steady elevation of thought, and splendour of imagery, which I have very seldom heard equalled, either here or at home; and when he sketched the nobleness of the missionary's aim, and

the awaiting triumphs and joys of the unseen world, it seemed indeed impossible that any one should listen with indifference.[1]

In most of the divisions of the Presbyterian body, in New York, ministers are to be found of talent and celebrity. These divisions are, the church under the General Assembly, the Associate Synod, the Associate Reformed Synod, the Dutch Church, and the Reformed Presbyterians, or Cameronians.

Dr. ——, I have attended very frequently. This preacher's discourses are in general carefully composed, argumentative, and impressive; with more of what is sometimes termed *unction* in them, than most which I have heard elsewhere. His sentiments are decidedly Calvinistic, and some of the more characteristic doctrines of the system afford frequent topics of discourse. His manner in the pulpit is lively, and if not properly speaking graceful, is yet free from any very obvious defect; his enunciation is accurate and emphatic, approaching sometimes to abruptness; and although he

[1] I observe by the American Journals, that this preacher has subsequently resigned the charge of the congregation in New York, in consequence of receiving an appointment to a Professorship in one of the Colleges. This, if I could judge from what I heard, is perhaps a more appropriate sphere for one of his peculiar talents and general cast of mind. A few such professors as he is likely to be, if his industry is equal to his talents, would give celebrity to any academical institution, and would be likely to produce an extensive influence on the intellectual character of the country.

reads his discourses, it is with so much facility, and so much spirit and earnestness, that it is scarcely possible to be indifferent or inattentive. He wears no gown or band, but is plainly dressed in black; his person is slender, and not above the middle size; his hair dark, and somewhat curled. The services of the Sabbath are conducted pretty nearly as in some Presbyterian churches at home. The minister is generally in the pulpit a few minutes before the hour of meeting; as soon as the hour has struck, he comes forward to the cushion, and stretching out his hands, the whole congregation rises, while he offers up a short prayer for the Divine presence and blessing. He then gives out a psalm or hymn, from Dr. Watts' collection; the singing of which is succeeded by his reading a chapter; another psalm is sung, when he reads aloud the various notes of those who request to be remembered in the prayers of the congregation, and never fails to introduce the whole, however numerous they may sometimes be and however minute in circumstantial detail, with a felicity and readiness which have often surprised me. His discourse, occupying from forty-five to fifty minutes, succeeds; afterwards a short prayer, a psalm, and the usual benediction.

His congregation is numerous, and the church is in general well filled. The members are much attached to their pastor, and it is said have been exemplary in their liberality to him. They have

a weekly evening meeting for prayer, which is open to strangers, and is well attended. It was formerly customary for some of the private members to deliver an exhortation at these meetings, but by desire of the presbytery this has been discontinued. Many of the younger members of the congregation, of both sexes, have associated themselves into what are called Bible classes. These classes, of which there are several, attend by rotation once a-week at the minister's house, to repeat and compare scripture passages, and answer the pastor's questions on the subjects which come before them. This has become a very common system among the congregations here, and must be productive of much benefit.

Dr. ——, belonging to another class of Presbyterians, is no less celebrated in the religious world, and I have had also frequent opportunities of hearing his public ministrations. On doctrinal points I believe these two clergymen are pretty nearly agreed, although the different tone of their minds leads them to give prominence to rather a different class of subjects in their discourses. Dr. ——'s pulpit is one of the more modern American fashion, and differs considerably from any that I have seen at home. It consists of a platform, about four feet above the level of the floor, of pretty considerable extent, and with a flight of steps at each end; in front is a flat cushion, raised about three feet above the platform, terminated on

each side by a low open railing, reaching to the steps. Against the wall are three mahogany dining room chairs, the centre one of which has arms, and a considerable space intervenes between the chairs and the cushion. This form of a pulpit is becoming very common in modern churches, and strikes me as an improvement upon the old ones, in which the minister is so completely boxed up.

Dr. ——'s figure is tall and imposing; he walks up the pulpit steps with much solemnity, carrying a psalm book in his hand, with his finger inserted between the leaves, and seating himself in the arm-chair, looks round for a moment upon the congregation. He also disdains canonicals. His brow is smooth, his forehead arched, and sparingly covered in the centre with smooth and soft hair, his eyebrows have rather an aspect of sternness, his nose is straight and somewhat slender, his lips generally compressed. While sitting in the chair, his whole person is seen, even to the shoes, excepting by a very few near the centre of the church. Coming forward to the cushion, he announces and reads out a psalm or hymn; then turning, walks back and seats himself till it is sung. The clerk in most other churches occupies a chair in the open space before the pulpit, but in this one he is perched in front of the gallery, directly opposite the minister, and, as usual here, names aloud to the congregation the tune which he is about to commence.

After the preliminary services are over, the

minister comes forward, and taking up a tumbler of water from under the cushion, swallows a mouthful, as he occasionally also does during the discourse; then taking out from the same place a quarto volume, apparently of Scott's Bible, opens it flat upon the cushion,—announces his text, and without notes of any kind proceeds with his sermon, which is not unfrequently, so far as I can judge from appearances, in a considerable degree extemporary.

His discourses, as might be expected if my supposition is correct, are somewhat unequal. Often the vigour and range of his mental powers conspicuously display themselves, in the exposition of a doubtful passage, or the refutation of a popular and plausible error, but at other times his remarks are comparatively obvious, perhaps even commonplace. His eloquence at times bursts upon you like a thunder storm, and the most brilliant conceptions flash out in language copious, rich, and classical; at other times his selection of words is careless, and even colloquialisms escape him. In criticism he is generally accurate, although sometimes, as I have thought, apt rather to cut than o untie.

I was present one day when this clergyman ordained three persons of his congregation as elders, and other three as deacons, for he recognizes a necessity for both. On this occasion he delivered a discourse in defence of the Presbyterian form of church government, in which he showed but little

mercy to those of opposite sentiments. At the conclusion, he called the individuals forward by name, stated that they had been regularly chosen to the respective offices, and no objections having been offered to their appointment, he now asked them in the presence of God and of the congregation, whether they willingly accepted of the appointments, and promised faithfully to perform their respective duties. All signified their assent, and he concluded by a suitable prayer.

The Presbyterian churches here observe the ordinance of the Lord's Supper once a month. On the preceding Friday evening there is a preparatory sermon, and the names of all new communicants are publicly announced; with information as to whether they have been received in virtue of previous connexion with other congregations, or in consequence of application to the session, and the usual examination.

The Reformed Dutch Church in New York is an exceedingly respectable body of christians. I have repeatedly attended evening sermon in one of their churches, and had in general much pleasure in the discourses and worship.

Dr. ——, one of the pastors of this congregation, for they have a plurality, is now an aged man, and much beloved by his flock. There is nothing in the literary character of his discoures particularly striking; indeed some of the younger ministers in this respect considerably surpass him;

but there is a warmth of devotional feeling in his addresses, which finds its way most powerfully to the heart. In prayer he is peculiarly ardent and spiritual, and though prone to rather lengthened services, they are so entirely the result of glowing emotion, and so thoroughly imbued with true christian spirit, that to be in any degree weary of them, would in general be characteristic in the hearer of lamentable callousness and indifference. There is in this church, which is large and numerously attended, a very fine organ; and the tunes which I have heard selected in worship, have been in many instances those older and simpler melodies with which Scotland has been long familiar; and although I doubt the propriety, on abstract principles, of instrumental accompaniments in the worship of God, I own that I have felt, on several occasions, the elevating influence of the organ's rich and swelling harmony, breathing in unison with the voices of the congregation.

Of the Episcopal clergymen whom I have occasionally heard in New York, there is one whose piety and earnestness I cannot but esteem. He was till within these few years a distinguished member of the Philadelphia bar, enjoying an extensive and very lucrative practice, but according to report a stranger for many years to the power of religion. He, however, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, produced on him that change, without which splendid talents are to their pos-

sessor in many respects loss instead of gain. He soon after relinquished the profession in which golden success still continued to attend him, and from a heartfelt desire for the good of his fellow creatures, procured ordination and a church as an Episcopal clergyman. It is said that the emoluments of his rectorship are wholly devoted to benevolent purposes.

This clergyman's sentiments and conduct are in some respects conspicuously contrasted with that of others in the same denomination; for while they, as I shall have occasion hereafter to state, abstain from all connexion with Missionary and Bible societies, unless episcopacy and the prayer book are recognised as essential accompaniments of the gospel, he unites heart and hand with those who without respect of persons or of systems, send forth the Bible without note or comment, as the source not only of the religion, but of all the true religion of protestants.

It would be tedious to enlarge with equal minuteness respecting other ministers in New York, I shall therefore confine myself to a rapid glance at the state of the different denominations; and intersperse an occasional remark as to the characteristics of their system, so far as I have been able to form an opinion from what I have myself observed.

The Presbyterians, as being more numerous in New York than any other sect, seem entitled to

precedence in our catalogue. The various classes into which these are divided have at least eighteen places of worship. Of these, six belong to the congregations under the General Assembly, which body corresponds in almost every particular except the matter of patronage and State influence, with the national church of Scotland; seven to the Reformed Dutch Church; three to the Associate Reformed Synod, corresponding with the Burghers of Scotland; one to the Associate Synod, or Antiburghers; and one to the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, or Cameronians.

Of these, it is obvious that all but the Dutch Church have been the result of emigration from our native country.

Under the General Assembly, which meets annually in Philadelphia, there are altogether thirteen synods, fifty-four presbyteries, and somewhere about 900 churches. The first presbytery was formed about the year 1720, and consisted of three ministers. Additions were made to their number, partly from among ministers from Scotland and Ireland, and partly from among the congregationalists of New England, who very generally unite with the presbyterian body when they leave their native States. A difference of sentiment however existed between these two parties, which resulted in a complete separation, about the year 1745, in consequence of the arrival and preaching of Whitfield. By the New England party he was hailed

with enthusiasm, by the others he was regarded with abhorrence. At the period of this rupture there were two synods, that of New York, and that of Philadelphia; the New England party, called subsequently the New Lights, were the dominant power in the former, and the others, who gloried in the name of Old Lights, in the latter. After a separation of seven years a reunion was effected, principally through the exertions of Dr. Witherspoon, formerly of Paisley, then President of Princeton college. The General Assembly was constituted in 1787, when there were no more than four synods, and about 200 churches.

This body is certainly upon the increase, and its ministers are in general men of piety, talent, and education. Its principal strength lies in New York and Pennsylvania, it has little or no footing in the eastern or western States, and not a great deal in the southern.

The Associate Reformed Synod, corresponding with the Burghers among us, has under it about a hundred churches; the Associate Synod, or Antiburgher, about half as many. These denominations although also respectable, are I believe not likely to increase much, for their new congregations in inland districts very frequently form a union with the General Assembly. Indeed in this country, where the absence of all national establishments does away with the principal obstacles to a general union among Presbyterians, it is rather

a matter of surprise that the original Scotish classification should survive, and it is not improbable that in the lapse of time the General Assembly will gradually absorb the minor divisions. The principal cause probably of their being hitherto preserved distinct, has been the frequent accession to the individual congregations of persons who have emigrated from Scotland; and who bring with them less or more of the spirit of the party with which they were there connected. The Associate Reformed Synod has a theological academy in New York, with two Professors, 26 students, and a library of about 5000 volumes.

Of the Reformed Presbyterians, or Cameronians, there are probably not more than about a dozen churches in the United States. That in New York is large and numerously attended; but generally speaking, the body consists almost exclusively of Scotsmen or their immediate descendants.

The remaining division of Presbyterians, the Reformed Dutch Church, is confined almost entirely to the States of New York and New Jersey; but here they are so abundant that they have in all somewhere about 200 churches. So far as I can learn the principal points of difference between them and the others, are, their having generally a plurality of pastors in each church, and a liturgy. The liturgy contains forms of public and private prayer; forms for the administration of ordinances,

and church discipline; for the ordination of ministers and church officers; and the celebration of marriage. These formularies are followed by the Nicene and Athanasian creeds. Very little importance however seems to be attached to this liturgy, at least so far as regards public worship; for on no occasion on which I have been present has the slightest use been made of it.

As to the mode in which public worship is conducted, in the various congregations of presbyterians, a good deal appears to depend on the will of the individual minister or congregation; but it in general corresponds nearly with the practice at home. Among those in connexion with the General Assembly, some ministers officiate in gowns and bands, but the greater number wear neither. Most of them use Watts' psalms and hymns. The other three classes of Scotish descent, so far as I have observed, make use of no canonical dress in the pulpit; some use one selection of psalms and hymns, some another; and a few of the more rigid congregations adhere faithfully to the veteran compilation which is so universal in Scotland. The Dutch Church adopted in 1813 a new collection, prepared by one of their own body; till last New-year's day, when some of the ladies of the congregations in New York took a fancy to array their pastors in full ecclesiastical vestments, the ministers had long laid aside both gowns and bands. Presbyterians have, so far as I know, no periodical

fasts; their theological academies I have already specified, the more noted colleges under their influence are those of Princeton and Schenectady.

In point of numbers the Episcopalians are the next religious body in New York, where they have about a dozen of churches and chapels.

This denomination had its rise among the emigrants to Virginia, and is still most numerous in the southern States; although in more recent times it has considerably increased in the middle and eastern districts, and at present New York may be regarded as its polemical head quarters.

The "Protestant Episcopal Church," as it is styled, has within its pale seven diocesses, with as many bishops,[2] and between 250 and 300 churches. It corresponds with the church of England in nearly all matters except those arising from State influence. The English book of common prayer is adopted with some few modifications, and the English church is universally regarded with filial regard and deference. Its government is vested in the House of Bishops, and the House of Clerical and Lay delegates, which form the General Convention, and the consent of both houses is essential to enact or repeal its canons. A copy of these canons is before me; they are 53 in number.

The prevalent theology of this body is at present decidedly and avowedly Arminian, and its

[2] An additional bishop has lately been elected. (1823.)

ecclesiastical spirit is the very highest of high church; the more intolerantly so, perhaps, from its being totally destitute of Government patronage and support, and enjoying no privileges which are not common to the most democratic of the surrounding sects. Among its clergy I have already noticed two distinguished exceptions[3] in regard to doctrine; and although these are all that have fallen within my personal observation, I am informed that there are a few others no less decided. These ministers I have reason to believe dissent no less sincerely from the prevalent exclusive spirit in ecclesiastical politics. Its bishops are, without exception, characterized by unswerving adherence to the dominant opinions.

A year or two ago, a keen controversy was waged between the episcopal clergy and those of other denominations, in which the exclusive *divine right* of the former was most pertinaciously asserted, and no less decidedly denied. Most of the sermons, charges, and pastoral letters, which the advocates of prelacy have published from that time to this, have more or less directly inculcated the same principles, and have been directed to the same object; and one can hardly help being amused at the tenacity with which the authors cling to the potent virtue of *apostolic ordination*, of which they are the legitimate inheritants, and *the excellence of the*

[3] One in Baltimore, the other in New York.

church, which is, and can be, none other than that in which they exercise their talents. Did all this infer nothing more than a predilection for their own party, a spirit which is in a less or greater degree common to all sects, it might be allowed to pass without much remark; but when they talk of all beyond their pale being left to the *uncovenanted mercies of God*, which is it seems their position, it becomes necessary to the development of the system, to exhibit more minutely the nature and tendency of their principles.

Of their creed upon the most important of all subjects, the foundation of a sinner's hope in the presence of his righteous Judge, it is probably impossible to make a statement which will be strictly applicable to the whole body; but in the preface to an address delivered in 1817 before the New York Bible and Prayer Book Society, by one of the clergy of the city, and published *by request*, the author states that "he believes that all who sincerely desire and endeavour to do the will of God, will be received by him; and he cherishes the hope that even fundamental error will be found to have been sometimes united with sincere piety;" and shortly after adds, that he "would shrink with horror from consigning Jews, Arians, and Socinians to indiscriminate perdition. He believes such persons to be in a great and most dangerous error; but God forbid that he should undertake to set limits to the mercy which may be extended to those who are in

error—or to assert that none who depart from the fundamental doctrines of the divinity of Christ, and salvation through the merits of his atonement, do it under circumstances of excuse which may attract the compassion of their Judge."

These are probably the sentiments of the majority of the Episcopalian church. The author indeed does not pledge any one to them except himself; but as the pamphlet in which they are avowed has been extensively circulated, without any, so far as I know, coming forward to controvert or disown them, we cannot but conclude that they are generally approved of.[4]

Holding such principles, it very naturally follows that in their zeal for making converts, it is not so much the extension of the knowledge of the word of God which they have at heart, as the enlargement of "our church," as their writers in all their publications invariably style it.

The present Bishop of New York has published two pamphlets on the subject of Bible and Common

[4] The following form of prayer drawn up and published by the present Bishop of New York, for the use of the Episcopal Sunday Schools, contains a comprehensive abstract of his doctrinal sentiments, and appears to be quite in unison with the quotations which are offered from the other divine:—

"Almighty and everlasting God, who hatest nothing that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all those who are penitent, create and make in us new and contrite hearts; that we, worthily lamenting our sins, and acknowledging our wretchedness, may obtain of Thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen*."

Prayer Book Societies, in which he loudly calls upon all within the pale of the Episcopalian church to have nothing to do with the American Bible Society, or any other which circulates the Bible alone; but by all means to cling "exclusively" to those which connect the Prayer Book with the Bible, or rather, as is the fact, give to the former their decided preference; and the reason which he assigns is, his belief that "great danger is to be apprehended from the contrary course, to the principles of the church." He tells them that "among Episcopalians there is a greater want of the book of Common Prayer than of the Bible," and that "the argument for the gratuitous circulation of the Bible, founded on the fact that numbers are destitute of this sacred volume, who are unwilling or unable to procure a copy of it, applies with even greater force to the Book of Common Prayer."

This counsel, which was given in 1816 and 1817, was not without its effects; for in the following year it was announced, that the Auxiliary New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society had up to that period distributed 1190 Bibles, and 7989 Prayer Books, being in the proportion of nearly seven Prayer Books to every Bible. It was attempted to palliate this glaring disproportion, by stating that the supply of Bibles by other societies had "narrowed the demands upon them for that book;" but a more obvious reason might be discovered in the fact, that the Bishop has previously assured them in

his Pastoral Letter, "that a single Bible *may* answer for a family; but in order to enable all its members to unite in public worship, several Common Prayer Books must be provided." He seems indeed to have been at a loss for language sufficiently expressive of his estimation of the "pure system of doctrine and worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer," and the following sentence seems to claim for it a very near approach to equality with the Scriptures:—"It would be absurd, and indeed impious, to exalt the human compendium above the inspired original; but as churchmen, we deem it unnatural and injudicious to separate what are thus closely allied. We wish to send them forth in their natural and interesting union, by the blessing of Heaven, to enlighten and save the world.[5]"

It is gratifying to know that all Episcopalians are not so inveterately wedded to this exclusive and sectarian system. The minister to whom among others I have already alluded, gives his active and hearty support to those societies which circulate the Bible alone; and I was present at one of their anniversary meetings, held in his church, at which he delivered an impressive and animating address, and offered up on behalf of it and all such institutions

[5] The passages within inverted commas are faithful quotations, from the original pamphlets which are in my possession; I have not affixed any names, because it is the system and not the men, with which we have to do.

a fervent extemporaneous prayer; he was indeed the principal speaker on this occasion.[6] It would be well for the American Episcopal Church that she had many such members.

Episcopalian Missionary Societies and Sunday School Societies, exist in various places, and the affairs of some of them are most zealously administered. Their prevailing character, however, is in consistence with the principles which I have already stated; "Where is the churchman who can be indifferent to the extension of his church?" is still the stimulating appeal. "Thus then, brethren, we have reason to be proud of our Zion;" is still the gratulating peroration. "Our Zion, like the messenger that came to console Zion of old with the news of deliverance, proclaims indeed 'glad tidings' to the children of men. 'Very excellent things may be spoken of thee, thou city of God!'—How *causeless* and *dangerous* then must be *separation* from our Zion!"

The moral character of the Episcopalian clergy

[6] Since my return home this gentleman has accepted the appointment of Secretary to the American Bible Society, and as such addressed a letter of condolence to the British and Foreign Bible Society on the lamented death of the estimable Mr Owen. He, however, and the others who are similarly catholic in their principles, are looked upon by their *Apostolic* brethren as much more dangerous to *the church*, than the most determined presbyterian or independent. While I was speaking of one of them, to a zealous partizan of the more influential party, and eulogizing his conduct, the churchman shook his head, "Ah," said he significantly, "he is a black sheep."

is, so far as I can learn, not liable to the slightest aspersion; on the contrary deviation from rectitude of conduct is immediately followed by degradation. A short time before I reached New York, a rector of one of the churches was superseded for immorality.

The revenues of this communion are not more abundant than those of other denominations. A bishopric is in this respect by no means a seductive object of ambition, for the incumbent is in general still dependant on his salary as a rector or parish priest, and has the duties of that office still upon his hands. Pluralities, curacies, and non-residence, are alike unknown.

The Episcopalians have a theological academy of considerable name at New Haven. The principal college in this part of the country which is under their influence is Columbia College in New York; but it is worthy of remark that among its trustees are also some of the most zealous presbyterians in the city.

The Methodists are, I believe, next in numerical account, they have here six or seven churches, besides two for blacks.

This sect is so universally diffused where the English language is spoken, and their principles are in general so familiar to those who take any interest in the distinguishing tenets of different sects, that it seems unnecessary to be very minute with regard to them. I do not know that there is any

thing in the American Methodists to distinguish them from those of other countries, unless it be that part of them maintain the Episcopalian form of church government; in 1817 they had three bishops. It is said that the number of their congregations in the country is not under 2000. Their great strength lies in the southern and western States, and their proselyting exertions are most indefatigable. One powerful means of extending their numbers, although unknown in our native country, consists in camp meetings, as they are called. What the origin of these singular assemblies was, I know not, but they are now kept up with astonishing zeal throughout all parts of the country.

As I have had no opportunity of witnessing any of those assemblages, I can only speak from common report as to their character and effects. They consist of multitudes of men, women, and children, to the extent of several thousands, who come in vehicles of every description to some selected place of meeting in the woods; here a large space is surrounded by waggons, tents are pitched, cooking utensils erected, and a motley encampment formed. A great number of preachers attend, and addresses and prayers are poured out, with inexhaustible copiousness, in half a dozen or more places at a time; when one speaker is worn out another begins, and thus it is kept up, without intermission, for a week or more. Their discourses and prayers are of course stimulating and alarming in the highest possible degree;

the hearers become violently excited; groan, cry aloud, and throw themselves on the ground in paroxysms of mental agony; the contagion spreads, even among those who have come from motives of mere curiosity, and with perfect contempt for the whole system; the number of converts multiplies; they are collected into a body and go round the camp singing hymns, and calling on the multitude to repent. Were the effects of camp meetings to spread no farther than this, it would be sufficient to characterize them as essentially detrimental to true religion; but when the evils are recollected which necessarily result to society, in the derangement of social and domestic order, by the desertion of industrious callings and the breaking up of hundreds of families; and when to this are superadded the positive immoralities which it is said usually attend these immense assemblages, necessarily promiscuous in the utmost latitude of the term, it is impossible to regard them but with decided disapprobation. It is indeed a matter of universal assertion and belief, among all but their abettors, that profligate people flock to them for the worst of all purposes, and that their influence is to a greater or less degree at all times prevalent. These camp meetings travel periodically over the greater part of the country; and they are so arranged that the same individuals may have it in their power to attend a great number in succession.

I have only happened to hear two specimens of

Methodist preaching, and these both in the same evening and in the same place. Disappointed in getting admission to another church, I agreed to the suggestion of a friend that we should follow a crowd who were flocking into a Methodist church, or rather a kind of subterraneous place of meeting under the chapel. The first preacher addressed the audience from the words, "Cleanse your hands ye sinners, purify your hearts ye double-minded." So far as bodily exertion went, this was the most powerful discourse I ever heard. The preacher wrought himself up to the most extravagant degree of vehemence, and vociferated for about an hour till he absolutely gasped for breath. Sitting down, apparently from total inability to go on, a second took it up, and setting out with the observation, that "many a good sermon was lost for want of self-application by the hearers," he proceeded to enforce what his associate had advanced, and toiled himself into almost an equal degree of noisiness and exhaustion. The whole amount of both addresses was, "The way of escape from hell and damnation is, draw nigh to God, draw nigh to God—abstain from drinking, swearing, theatres, balls, extravagance of living and furniture, cry aloud for mercy, walk in the paths of true piety, and live a life of godliness and devotion." Neither the one nor the other ever stated, directly or indirectly, that Jesus died for sinners, and rose again for their justification. I do not offer this as by any means ascer-

taining the general character of Methodist preaching or doctrine in this country; I have reason to hope that many even of their own body would have disapproved of the specimen as decidedly as I did, at the same time I suspect that a still greater number would be found who would as decidedly applaud it.

The Baptists, in number of churches, rank next in order. They have seven places of worship in the city; I am not aware whether they have any for blacks. These are all agreed, as to worship and church government, with the particular Baptists of England, but there is also a small congregation conducted upon the principles of the Scotish Baptists. I attended at different times in three of these places of worship; they are all large and numerously attended, and the discourses which I heard were, with one exception, characterized by piety and good sense.

The Baptists are the most numerous denomination in the United States; it is said that their churches amount altogether to nearly 3000. They obtained a footing first in Rhode Island, where they have a very respectable academical institution called Brown College,[2] at which about 70 or 80 students in general study; they have also a theological academy at Philadelphia. Their great strength however is in the southern and western States, where

[2] A new college in connexion with this body has been established since my return in Washington, with promise of great success.

they continue to increase rapidly. They have a Missionary Society at Philadelphia which supports, as you know from the reports, missions to Bombay and the Birman Empire.

Besides the churches which I have enumerated, there are three Quakers' meeting houses, one German Reformed church, one Evangelical Lutheran, two Romish, one Universalist, and one Jewish synagogue.

The ministers of the various denominations are supported chiefly by the proceeds of pew rents and voluntary contributions. The salaries of those of the larger congregations vary from about 2000 to 4000 dollars; £450 to £900 sterling. I am not however sure that any of them actually reach the latter sum. Pews are in general private property; but, in addition to the large amount of their first cost, they are burdened with a very heavy annual assessment. In some churches the more desirable pews, capable of accommodating six or eight sitters, will occasionally sell for as much as a thousand dollars, about £220; and the annual assessment is considerably higher than the usual amount of seat rents in Glasgow. The original purchase money goes to the erection and support of the building, the subsequent payments to the support of the minister.

A part of the ministers' emoluments arises from marriages; on which happy occasions the clergyman is always compensated for his assistance with

bank notes. The sum usually presented varies from five to twenty dollars, but those who can afford to be munificent sometimes go the length of one hundred; £22, 10s. Another item might perhaps be added, the linen scarfs which are presented at funerals; each of them will make a shirt, and some ministers get a great many every year. This however is in every respect a very censurable custom, and ought by all means to be discouraged.

In country places the minister's salary is greatly lower; sometimes it is raised by penny a-week associations, frequently it is paid in kind, and very often is of no stipulated amount, but depends entirely upon the state of the times, and the incumbent's popularity.

During the time of public worship, it is quite common in the more narrow streets of New York to find a chain extended completely across, from one post to another, to prevent the passage of carriages. This we should think with us a very glaring infringement on the liberty of the subject.

The collections are usually made not at the door of the church, but in plates which are handed into every pew, immediately on the conclusion of the sermon. This is a very efficient way of levying contributions from those who are not accustomed to the fashion, but frequent use renders people quite callous to the craving platter. In Philadelphia they use a little black velvet bag, projected at the end of a long pole, this is unceremoniously

thrust out to every one in the pew; but it is so far convenient, that those who choose to be parsimonious escape detection, for it is impossible to discover the amount of their deposite.

The Sabbath is, upon the whole, decorously observed at New York. In large cities, and particularly sea ports, there is always in a considerable proportion of the population, a great degree of indifference to the solemnities, and even to the quietness, of the day of rest; but I do not think that in this respect New York would suffer much in a comparison with those of our native country. I must say, however, that what difference exists, is against America. Tea gardens are open here on the Sabbath evening; and I have seen in Broadway, opposite the entrance to one of them, a large lantern suspended over the foot-walk, inviting visitors; there are however no pastry cooks' shops open, as in London and other parts of England. With regard to the consistent observance of the Sabbath among professedly religious people, I scarcely know what general statement to make. I have known some individuals, whom in the judgment of charity I could not but regard as christians, who would yet spend the Sabbath in travelling, when there was not so far as I could judge any necessary occasion for it; but I have also met with others, who most scrupulously abstained from what most would have considered works of necessity or mercy, and most conscientiously spent the whole

day in the duties of public and private devotion. The majority of the religious world however, I have reason to think, might be said, as among ourselves, to steer a middle course; and while they acted under a conviction of the duty of setting apart the first day of the week, to the worship of God and meditation on eternal things, were at the same time not unmindful that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.

Evening sermons are numerous here; were I required to give my opinion on the subject, I should be inclined to say that there is perhaps an undue importance attached to them, and that many attend church who would be more usefully employed in the duties of family instruction. Perhaps, however, the circumstances in which I have happened to be placed, occasioned me to see more of the one than the other. A *wayfaring man* has not the best opportunity of correct information on subjects of a domestic nature.

The efforts which are made by the inhabitants of this city to communicate religious instruction to their destitute fellow creatures, both among themselves and in distant regions, merit honourable mention. Bible, Missionary, Tract, and Sunday School societies, are I think quite as numerous as among ourselves. Some of them indeed are comparatively of modern institution; but we have all been too remiss in such matters to be entitled to censure the conduct of others.

The American Bible Society[3] was formed in 1816, and was intended to be a national institution, to which the local societies should be subsidiary; there are besides in the city, the New York, the Auxiliary New York, the New York Female, the New York Union, the Marine, and the New York African Bible Societies, most of which, if not all, are in connexion with the national institution. The oldest of these was established in 1809, and the second in 1813. There are also some Juvenile, and subordinate Associations, as well as two Bible and Common Prayer Book Societies. The printing of Bibles here is free, and not as with us a matter of privilege and monopoly. The American Bible Society is thus enabled to print for itself, and it has at present eight or nine presses employed; the work which they produce is upon the whole very respectably executed.

The formation of this national institution met with very strenuous opposition; partly I believe from those local jealousies which even in such matters are allowed too frequently to operate, but more particularly from that sect to which I have already alluded, as trembling at the idea of the word of God being allowed to go abroad among their fellow

[3] It would have been a very easy thing to have given here a much more detailed account of societies for religious purposes, than has been introduced; but to those who feel a particular interest in such matters, this would be superfluous, as the proceedings of American benevolent institutions are now regularly communicated in the British Magazines and Reports.

creatures, without the qualifying influence of the word of man. Those in this communion are careful to prefix the appellation 'Protestant' to the designation of their party; but I have sometimes been tempted to suspect that it has arisen from a secret conviction that some of the most distinguishing characteristics of Protestantism are not to be discovered in their system; just as another sect in the, so called, religious world, add 'Christians' to their distinctive title, lest, as they disavow the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, people should suspect that they are not entitled to the name.

Of Missionary societies there are in this city at least ten. Of these there are three or four which devote their funds to foreign missions; others to the support of preachers and teachers in the destitute regions of the United States, and among the poor wandering aborigines; one gives its exertions exclusively to the Jews, and one is subservient to the interests of the Episcopal church. I heard one evening a discourse, delivered in behalf of one of these home societies, at which four young Cherokees were present, some of them sons of chiefs; who had come to New York to be educated for acting as missionaries and teachers among their own nation. I afterwards met at Washington with the father of one of these youths, who appeared to be a man of decided piety, and of a well informed mind.

There are three Tract societies in New York,

but I believe that they restrict their operations in a great measure to the republication of British tracts. One of them is conducted by Episcopalians, and another by Methodists.

The Sunday School societies are comparatively of modern date; the first was formed in 1815, or 1816. They are now however numerous, for almost every congregation of whatever name has a school connected with it, which is managed by its members. There are several others devoted to the instruction of adults, particularly people of colour; to a very interesting one of this kind I have already alluded.

In general English reading is the principal object of attention in the Sunday schools, for there is among the lower classes a melancholy deficiency in this respect; the poor blacks are particularly ignorant. The Bible, however, is universally the school book, to all those who have mastered the spelling lessons; and religious instruction is always to a greater or less degree connected with the exercises. Boys and girls are scarcely ever found in the same school; young men and young ladies respectively teach those of their own sex; the ladies indeed were the first who commenced schools in New York. In each school there are a considerable number of teachers, who give the more elementary instruction, while upon the superintendent devolves the duty of a religious address, and prayer. The schools meet universally in the morn-

ing, for about an hour before the forenoon service; the teachers then walk with their pupils to church and sit beside them during worship; at dismission, school exercises are resumed, and in the afternoon, they again take their place in the church. This completes the exercises of the day, for none of the schools are open in the evening; so different is the system in America and in Scotland—with us the evening is the principal period of instruction, and only a few schools have a summer morning meeting. The New York Sunday School Union was established in 1816, and has now a great number of schools in connexion with it.

The anniversary meetings of Religious Societies are conducted in a different manner from those at home. Ours have more the character of popular assemblies, theirs of devotional meetings. Those at which I have been present here have always been held in a church. The business was introduced by singing and prayer; the report was read, and the speakers, principally clergymen, then addressed the audience. The peculiar form of the more modern American pulpits, makes the churches much better adapted for meetings of this kind than ours are. A collection was then made, and another hymn and prayer, with the usual benediction, terminated the proceedings. The introduction of religious services has the effect of considerably lessening the number of those who attend;—would it not be better that these meetings should

be made as inviting as can be done, without the compromise of principle, to persons of every description of character?

Abstract remarks upon the character of American religion appear to be unnecessary, after the information as to facts, which has been communicated throughout these letters. No one of reflection and candour can fail to be convinced that truth and righteousness do to a very important extent prevail, and that their principles are in a state of increasing progress and development.

I must now soon take leave of America. No one who rightly studies the people of this country can be otherwise than persuaded that they are a growing nation; destined ultimately to attain, and probably long to enjoy, a commanding and salutary influence upon the other families of the earth. It is natural that we should expect this; and it cannot but be disgraceful to Americans should such anticipations be disappointed. They have had advantages which no other nation ever had—results must accrue from these such as no nation has yet exhibited. Instead of laboriously climbing the steep ascent, by which others have risen from darkness and barbarity to light and civilization—groping for the right path and often mistaking it in the labyrinths among which it was concealed — they have been happily transferred

from the lofty peak to which we had attained, to another equally high, there to commence their efforts for further advancement;—with all the memorials of our slowly acquired wisdom recorded for their use, all our errors detailed for their warning, all our present imperfections and half matured plans conspicuously exhibited before them. Hitherto their advancement has been comparatively but necessarily slow;—they had an untamed land to subdue, they had the necessaries of life to struggle for, they had a civil system to establish, they had errors in European principles to reform, what was still worse, they had strong counteracting efforts on our part to resist. In the face of all this, the wonder is, not that they have done so little, but that they have accomplished so much; and the vigour of the infantine grasp, which in the cradle has triumphed over such opposition, gives promise of a matured and exalted energy, which will hereafter aid in washing away the moral pollutions of the world, and crushing the many-headed monster which has so long preyed upon the temporal and eternal interests of man.

But while from America so much may be expected, we may reasonably hope that she will not be solitary in such achievements. My heart still clings to my native land with unabated fondness; and as she has already been honoured to do great things, in emancipating from mental thraldom the fair globe on which we dwell, it is not surely

unreasonable to hope that all this is but a pledge of greater exertions, and more brilliant success;—that there is a day coming when she will stand still more conspicuously forth as the benefactor of our species, and when 'the blessing of many ready to perish shall come upon her.'

Let not the people of either country disdain the fellowship and good offices of the other;—sprung from the same stock, speaking the same language, common participators of civil liberty and equal laws—let us regard each other as brethren, cordially unite for counsel, co-operation and sympathy; and give to the world a brighter and more beneficial demonstration than it has hitherto seen, that knowledge is power, union is strength, and pure religion inseparably connected with national prosperity and individual happiness.

THE END.

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